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PREFACE

Elizabeth Lavolette, MA Student in Second Language Studies
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On Saturday, April 12, 2008, the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa held its twelfth annual graduate student conference with the theme *Many Cultures, Many Languages, Infinite Possibilities*. Bringing together graduate students and faculty from the Departments of English, Linguistics, Second Language Studies, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, East Asian Languages and Literatures, the conference opened with a plenary speech by Dr. Kathy Phillips of the English Department. The plenary speech was followed by presentations in eight sessions and two panels. Twenty-five graduate students presented their work, and articles by eleven presenters are included in these proceedings.

As editors-in-chief of the conference proceedings and on behalf of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, we thank all of the student and faculty volunteers who devoted their time and energy to making the conference happen. Without their contributions, the conference would not have been the success that it was. The team of conference co-chairs, Carl Polley, Cara Chang, and Lesley Culver, deserve special credit for overseeing the conference process from the initial planning stages to conference day and beyond. Our gratitude also goes to faculty advisor Dr. Robert Sullivan from the English Department for his support and wisdom. We are also indebted to all of the abstract readers, publicity and liaison volunteers, food and beverage organizers, audiovisual and technical coordinators, program designers, panel moderators, and other on-site volunteers for their assistance before, during, and after the conference.

We also express our thanks to Dean Joseph H. O'Mealy of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature and the staff of his office for their ever-present support and guidance during the preparation of these proceedings. In particular, we are grateful to Iris E. Chang and her assistants, Do So, Jennifer Hendrix, Wai Yee Chan, and Alan Chun for helping us throughout the publishing process. We thank Carl Polley, Elizabeth Lavolette, and Katya Jenson for establishing a strong precedent in preparing the previous year's conference proceedings. We are also grateful to our editing team, which included Cara Chang, Nicolas Chudeau, Reginald Gentry, Jr., R. Jess Lavolette, Suann Robinson, and Min Ju Young. Finally, we would like to thank the contributors for all of their hard work and patience throughout the process. We wish them all the best in their future publishing and academic careers.



PLENARY SPEAKER HIGHLIGHTS

Elizabeth Lavolette, MA Student in Second Language Studies


Dr. Kathy Phillips from the College of LLL's own Department of English honored us by delivering the plenary this year at our twelfth annual graduate student conference. Dr. Phillips is a full professor, and she holds a PhD in comparative literature from Brown University. In the course of her academic career, she has published many articles and five books, the most recent of which is *Manipulating Masculinity: War and Gender in Modern British and American Literature* (2006). Dr. Phillips opened the conference by delivering an engaging and humorous plenary that was both practical and inspiring. She began with the practical: recommendations for getting published, then followed up by inspiring us with the story of why she feels compelled to write. To conclude, she explained the inspiration behind one of her own poems and shared the poem with us by reading it aloud.

Dr. Phillips began her talk with practical tips for getting published. First, investigate venues for publishing your paper, then read recent articles in that venue. Because peer reviews are blind, never put your name on your article submission. Your name should only appear on your title page, if anywhere, and always include a second version of your submission without your name. When referring to your own previous work in your paper, do so in the third person. For most journals, a cover letter is not required with a submission for publication, but if you include one, make it brief, specific, and positive. Because nine months or more may pass before you receive a response, after you submit your article, you should forget it! If your article is rejected, look at the article again with fresh eyes and revise it. Finally, while you should keep an open mind about feedback, don't blindly believe everything that reviewers tell you!

In the second half of her plenary, Dr. Phillips described her personal motivations for writing. While many of us are concerned about producing numerous publications, she urged us not to write merely to gain status but from an inner need to do so. Her own inspiration stems from her years as a student during the Vietnam War. During that turbulent time, she was influenced by war protests, the secret bombings of Cambodia, and colleges on strike. The Kent State shootings occurred on her twentieth birthday, and since that day, she has been writing about war, gender, empires, and sexuality. In fact, because of these controversial themes, her 2006 book *Manipulating Masculinity* was unpublishable immediately following 9-11. Instead of being discouraged by the manuscript rejection, she wrote another chapter in the book about the Iraq War. Mindsets changed, and eventually, she found a publisher for her book.

At the end of her talk, Dr. Phillips recounted a bilingual reading of poems by the Cambodian poet, U Sam Oeur about the terror of life under the Pol Pot regime. In one of his poems, Oeur references the Kent State shootings, and Dr. Phillips felt inspired to write a poem in response to his poem. To conclude the plenary, Dr. Phillips read her poem to us and explained that the repeated refrain in the poem shows the repetition of killing throughout history.

We are truly grateful to have had such an inspiring and engaging speaker to open our twelfth annual graduate student conference. We hope all of the conference's attendees and presenters, graduate students, faculty, and staff, will benefit from her wise words on writing in their future academic careers or wherever their life paths lead them.



I. Languages and Linguistics



LEXICAL CHOICE AMONG BILINGUAL CHILDREN IN NARRATIVES¹

Mai Takemoto, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

This study examined lexical choice and the strategic use of languages by twenty-eight Japanese-English bilingual children in their tellings of the culture-specific story, *Momotaro* in Japanese and English. The children, aged 3;7 to 10;4 were born and raised in Japanese-speaking families in Hawai'i. Japanese culture-specific terms elicited bilingual communicative strategies, such as use of different codes for different functions. The children's high degree of bilingualism was reinforced by their families and the children's educational settings. Japanese-language input was regularly provided at home and in after-school activities in the context of the English dominant multi-language environment of Hawai'i.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This study investigated the use of two languages used alternately in narratives told by Japanese-English bilingual children living in Honolulu, Hawai'i. In particular, the study focused on the children's choices for the Japanese culture-specific lexical items in their English story-telling narratives. Instances of the children's efforts to find the best English equivalent for Japanese items were identified as bilingual conversational strategies, including use of Japanese borrowings and code-switching.

Language, or code, as it is referred to in this study, describes the different varieties of Japanese and English in Hawai'i. Children's bilingual use of code-switching is defined as the patterned switching between languages (or codes) that occurs both inter- and intra-sententially. Prosodic and phonological cues, including emphases and pauses, morphological integration, frequency, and social interaction with the audience all combine to determine one's code. Individual speakers drew on features from languages or language varieties, each associated with different social groups and sets of values (Swann, 2000). In this paper, three possible categorizations are examined in the context of the multilingual context of Hawai'i: code-switching, language mixing, and fused lect.

According to Shin (2005), bilingual children use code-switching to negotiate individual preferences for one language or the other. In her Puerto Rican bilingual data, Poplack (1980) defined code-switching as "the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent" (p.583). Similarly, Gumperz (1982) defined code-switching as the "juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p.59). Past research has shown three basic types of code-switches: those occurring across sentence boundaries (inter-sentential), those occurring within sentence boundaries (intrasentential), and tags, interjections, sentence fillers, and sentence-final particle switching (extrasentential) (e.g., Hoffmann, 1991; Nishimura, 1985, 1997; Romaine, 1989). Hoffmann (1991) argued that code-switching is a frequently and naturally occurring phenomenon in bilingual speech and Grosjean (1982) showed that code-switching occurs early for children, mainly to express a word or an expression that is not immediately accessible in the child's other language(s). Based on examining Korean-American children's speech data, along with code-switching examples, Shin (2005) claimed children's preference for English can be evidence of the children's enculturation into the language and culture of American society as well as a conversation organization tool.

In contrast to code-switching, the term language mixing refers to the unsystematically patterned use of two codes among bilinguals. The third category, *fused lect* refers to the use of one code without choice in a monolingual mode. The difference between language mixing and a fused lect is that language mixing involves two discrete languages while a fused lect involves only one language, although it is a language that includes borrowed structures. The difference between language mixing and a fused lect is with or without variation of one language. While language mixing allows variation, a fused lect requires the use of one language (Auer, 1998). This continuum is presented as the following table.

Table 1: Continuum from Code-switching to Fused Lect

two codes	two codes	one code
patterned change with choice functional bilingual mode	variational (not constituent) with choice bilingual mode	borrowing without choice non-functional monolingual mode
← code-switching	language-mixing	fused lect →

It is not always easy to distinguish between code-switching, language mixing, and fused lects. However, it is important to understand these concepts to explore bilingual children's lexical choice. Bilingual children combine languages systematically and unsystematically from code-switching to language mixing to borrowing.

The rest of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses previous studies on code-switching. Section 3 presents the methodology used for the data collection. Section 4 provides the results of the bilingual narratives and the children's selection of codes. Section 5 discusses the sociocultural context. Finally, Section 6 concludes the findings of this study. This study is significant in that (1) it examines a Japanese-English language pair spoken by young bilingual children and (2) it sheds light on varieties of English in Hawai'i, where Japanese has been influenced, particularly lexical items for food and characters. Few studies are focused on young bilingual children's code-switching in Japanese-English language pairs. In addition, my study deals with Hawai'i English, so a variety of English results in different types of code-switching, compared to other bilingual studies using other variety of English and Japanese.

2.0. CULTURES AND CODES IN NARRATIVES

Past researchers have suggested that culture-specific terms play a role as code-switching triggers due to their uniqueness and the difficulty of translation (e.g. Clyne, 1967; Haugen, 1953). Based on these early studies, Takagi (2000) investigated aspects of code-switching in bilingual children's story-telling narratives. Takagi (2000) claimed that culture-specific topics trigger instances of code-switching in bilingual children's story-tellings in their English narratives.

Narratives are a type of discourse practice in which the speaker not only describes events and offers opinions but also modifies and constructs the events (Solé, 2007). By (re)telling a story, individuals can contribute to the shaping of the social beliefs and practices they describe (Gergen, 1994). Thus, according to Davis and Harré (1990), the structure of a narrative that serves as a fragment of an autobiography is no different from a fairy tale or other work of narrative fiction. Narratives can also be said to be embedded in social action because narratives reflect human experience and the ties the narrators have with different social groups and their behaviors (Solé, 2007). In my study, story-telling narratives were chosen to explore bilingual children's approach to retelling a culture-specific story in two languages to further investigate the functions of culture-specific lexical items.

Based on findings in previous studies, I hypothesized that participants in the current study would employ frequent language shifts in their English retelling of the Japanese story, *Momotaro*, (*The Peach Boy*) because of the story's Japanese culture-specific lexical items.

3.0. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Participants

This study investigated the use of code-switching in narratives told by twenty-eight Japanese-English bilingual children² living in Honolulu, Hawai'i, who were aged 3;7 to 10;4. Participants were elicited through connections in the Japanese-English bilingual community in Honolulu. The gender and age of children are indicated as in Tables 3.1.1 and 3.1.2.³ The mean age is 7.25 and the standard deviation for the ages is 1.80.

Table 3.1.1: Gender of the Participants

Sex	No. of Children
Female	20
Male	8
Total	28

Table 3.1.2: Age of the Participants

Age	No. of Children
3	1 (1)
4	2 (2)
5	6 (4)
6	4 (3)
7	3 (3)
8	8 (3)
9	2 (2)
10	2 (2)
Total	28 (20)

NOTE: () means the number of girls

The participants of the study attend private kindergartens and elementary schools. Having grown up and gone to school in Hawai'i, English is a language of public interactions for them. All the children are relatively balanced bilinguals who are frequently immersed in both in English and Japanese bilingual and monolingual contexts. All of the children had Japanese as a first language and spoke Japanese with their Japanese-speaking parents in Hawai'i. In the multilingual environment of Hawai'i, Japanese is not only the family's immigrant language spoken in the home but also the language of the community outside school and in after-school activities.

Background information questionnaires answered by their mothers, interviews, and my field notes showed the children's high degree of bilingualism. Potential participants who had a limited fluency in both languages were excluded from the study based on information provided in the questionnaires, including amount of language input at home, at school, and in after-school activities, as well as my interviews, and my observations of the participants.

3.2. Method

Data for the study comprised four types: (1) audio recordings of the children's story-telling narratives, (2) interviews with the children after the children's story-tellings, (3) the investigator's field notes, and (4) questionnaires on the children's language backgrounds answered by the children's mothers. The author is the investigator and the interlocutor throughout the data collection. The audio recordings of the data were transcribed and coded following conversation analytic conventions based on Atkinson & Heritage (1984). In the data transcription, Japanese elements were indicated in *italics*. Field notes for the study captured contextual details at each recording, following Demuth (1998), because the details of the setting and activities of participants are often essential to interpreting children's utterances.

A wordless picture book of *Momotaro* (*The Peach Boy*) was created for data elicitation and used throughout the narrative data collection. *Momotaro* is a Japanese traditional story and contains Japanese culture-specific lexical items such as *kibi-dango* 'millet dumpling', *kiji* 'pheasant', and *oni* 'ogre.' These culture-specific terms were expected to elicit code-switching from the participants in their English retellings of the narratives.⁴

The *Momotaro* story is a well-known folktale in Japan. The story juxtaposes the good protagonist *Momotaro* 'Peach Boy' with the evil antagonist *oni* 'ogre.' Throughout the story, *Momotaro* solicits the help of different animals in battling the *oni* by offering the animals *kibi-dango* 'millet dumpling.' In return for the *kibi-dango* gift, the animals feel indebted and grateful, the Japanese notion of *on* 'feeling of moral indebtedness' and *giri* 'debt of gratitude,' and help *Momotaro* fight the *oni*.

4. 0. RESULTS: USE OF CODES

4.1. KIBI-DANGO 'MILLET DUMPLING'

Throughout the retellings, some participants borrowed the lexical items *mochi* or *dango* for *kibi-dango* 'millet dumpling' in English narratives from their Hawai'iian context. Figure 4.1 illustrates several of the narratives contexts for the Japanese culture specific term *kibi-dango*. Table 4.1. below summarizes the participants' lexical choices in those contexts. As evident from Table 4.1, about half of the participants said *mochi* (N=10) or *dango* (N=5) in their story-telling.

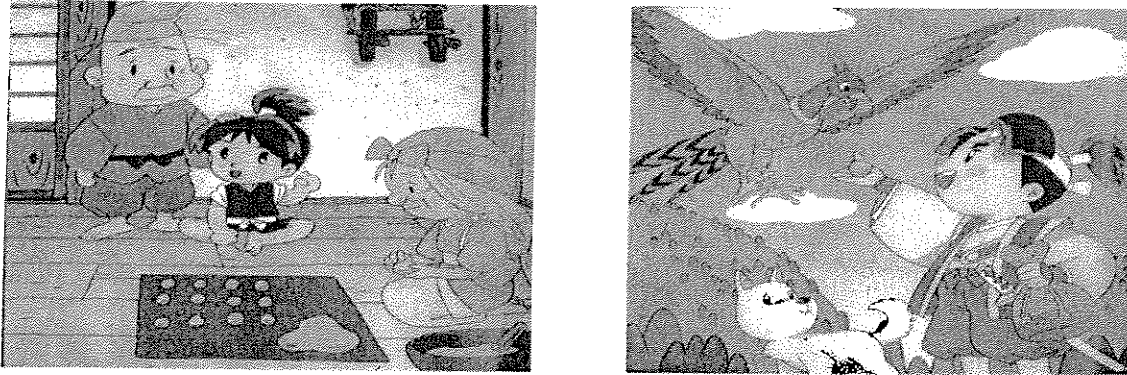


Figure 4.1: Illustrations of *Kibi-dango* 'Millet Dumpling' from *Momotaro (The Peach Boy)* (2007[1997]). Grandma makes *kibi-dango* for Momotaro (left); Momotaro gives a piece of *kibi-dango* to animals (right). Reprinted with permission of Nagaokashoten Ltd.

Table 4.1: Children's Terms for *Kibi-dango* in their English Narratives of *Momotaro*

Lexical Item	No. of Children	%
mochi	10	35.71%
dango	5	17.86%
something	3	10.71%
ø	2	7.14 %
ball	2	7.14 %
one	1	3.57%
stuff	1	3.57%
food	1	3.57%
this	1	3.57%
cookies	1	3.57%
kibidango	1	3.57%
Total	28	100.00%

From the data, *mochi* is potentially bivalent in the English variety of Hawai'i, meaning that the word *mochi* belongs equally to both codes, Japanese and English, which are labeled as bivalent (Woolard, 1998). Since words for Japanese food items are borrowed and enjoy widespread use in Hawai'i, the use of *mochi* in English narratives can be analyzed as bivalency of words as well as a stabilized fused lect (Auer, 1998). That is, *mochi* refers to both the Japanese and the English word as *sushi* refers to both the Japanese and English word in other major cities in the U.S.A. The shorten form *dango* also refers to *kibi-dango*, 'millet dumpling,' and is used in Asian parts of Honolulu, Hawai'i.

4.2. Momo 'Peach'

Another food item, *momo* 'peach' also appeared as Japanese lexical item as well as English lexical item in the English retellings of the narrative. That is, for some narrators, *momo* elicited a code-switch to Japanese while for others it did not. Throughout the story, *momo* plays an important role. At the beginning of the story, a boy emerges from a large *momo* 'peach' and thus receives the name *Momotaro* meaning 'Peach

Boy' from Grandma and Grandpa. In the story, the peach's appearance differs greatly from that of an American peach in terms of its shape, size, and color as illustrated in Figure 4.2.

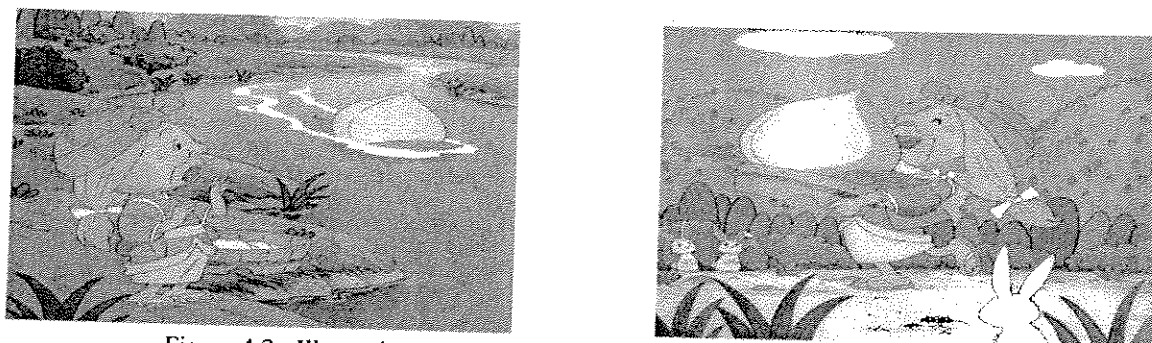


Figure 4.2: Illustrations of *Momo* from *Momotaro (The Peach Boy)* (2007[1997]). Grandma finds a giant *momo* floating in the river (left); she brings it home (right). Reprinted with permission of Nagaokashoten Ltd.

Six out of twenty-eight children chose the lexical item *momo* in their story-telling. Of the participants, the ones who chose the Japanese lexical item were the younger children aged from (3;6) to (6;2).⁵ Table 4.2 summarizes the different lexical choices for *momo*, with examples shown in context in (1) and (2). The older group preferred to say 'peach' or other equivalent English terms.

Table 4.2: Children's Terms for *Momo* in Their English Narratives of the *Momotaro* Story

Lexical Item	No. of Children	%
momo	6	21.43%
peach	20	71.48%
Momotaro	1	3.57%
pear	1	3.57%
Total	28	100.00%

(1) Naomi's (5;0) retelling of *Momotaro* in English to the interlocutor⁶

- 1 N: So she went to the lake.
 2 How do you say *momo* in English?=
 3 = I don't know.
 4 <5:0> And then (.) she went (.) and then (.) she found a *momo*↑
 5 And then↑(.) she *took it into her own back...backpack↑
 6 And then she cut it↑
 7 And then (.) the baby got bo:rn↑
 8 I: ((laugh))
 9 N: <3:0>
 10 And they named it *Momotaroo*↑

Beginning in line 2, Naomi starts negotiating her vocabulary choice independently. She labels *momo* as "not English" explicitly in her narrative. Her rise in pitch at the end of each sentence from Line 4 to 10 shows her lack of certainty about *momo* as a reference in her English story-telling, and her raised pitch serves as a way of asking for confirmation from the interlocutor. The functions of the lexical item, *momo*, in lines 2, 4, 10 are different. In line 2, *momo* is a code-switched word in the English sentence in order to ask for an appropriate English word. At this point, Naomi makes use of her metalinguistic knowledge to ask about a non-English word. Later in line 4, however, *momo* undergoes the process of grammaticalization in her narrative. That is, for her, *momo* is the only choice, and she integrates *momo* into her vocabulary as a resource for the English retelling. In line 10, the name of *Momotaroo* 'Peach Boy' is used in Japanese without any interpretation with rising intonation.

Next, Naomi's older sister, Rika, (7;11) also describes *momo* in her English retelling of the story to the interlocutor as in (2).

(2) Rika's (7;11) description of *momo* to the interlocutor.

- 1 R: Then while the <2:0> uh, grandma was washing the clothes, a big, a big
pear↑ >wait, not a pear.<
2 <5:0>
3 I: What's 'pear'?
4 R: Huh?
5 I: What's 'pear'?
6 R: 'Pear' is a bit different than *momo*.
7 I: Oh...OK.
8 Oh↑ yeah, yeah, 'pear' is a bit different from [*momo*.
9 R: [Yeah, it's like a bit harder=
10 = Kind of.
11 I: Yeah, yeah, kind of, and (the) shape is different, right?
12 R: Yeah, it's like rounded like an apple.
13 I: Uh. OK. Yeah, never mind.<1:0> Yeah.
14 R: So (.) a big...mmm <3:0>
15 I: Whatever, just say it. That's just fine.
16 R: mmm <2:0> Can I just say it again in Japanese or something on that?
17 I: Uh-huh. > Yeah, yeah. Sure, sure, sure. < Go ahead.
18 R: M...*Momo* (.) came like <2:0> ° *nante iu n* ° (.) but (.) like (.) came.
what say EMP
'M...*Momo* came like what (should I) say, but, like, came.'
19 R: And then, the grandma wanted to eat it for the dessert with grandpa↑(.) so
she took it home.
20 And then, when she (.) like (.) cut it in half ↑(.) like (.) a light showed to the like, um, the
<2:0> *momo*.
21 <2:0> And then when it was, um, when they found a baby↑, the grandpa
said to name it, <1:0> um, <2:0> *Momo*= [((laugh)) = *taro*?
22 I: [Yeah, yeah. ((laugh))
23 R: 'Cause he came out of a *momo*.

In her narrative, Rika also clearly negotiates her vocabulary for *momo*. Rika is the only child to use 'pear' for *momo* throughout the data collection. In line 6, Rika labels pear and *momo* as two different things by marking the linguistic difference, and she notes that *momo* is not used in English. She asks for permission to use the Japanese word *momo* in her English story-telling. Asking permission to use lexical items from other languages in the narrative interaction was common among the bilingual children in the study. From line 6 on, Rika uses *momo* as the only choice for her English resource, and she grammaticalizes the term as a resource in her English story-telling by adding an article (see lines 20 and 23). Because she temporarily lacks the English resource for *momo*, she is forced to grammaticalize the only available choice, even though she is aware that it is a non-English resource.

4.3. *Oni* 'Ogre'

In the narratives, *oni* 'ogre' is also borrowed from Japanese and used in three children's narratives as a Japanese lexical item. All of the other children substituted other English words. This difference may result from the availability of the equivalent lexical items in American works, not only specifically in Japanese works. The appearance of *oni* is unique in Japanese works as illustrated in Figure 4.3. However, other English words can be substituted for *oni*, as shown in Table 4.3, because the existence and role of *oni* can be found in other fairy tales in English, for example, as monsters or trolls. Only the actual appearance of the *oni* is Japanese culture-specific.

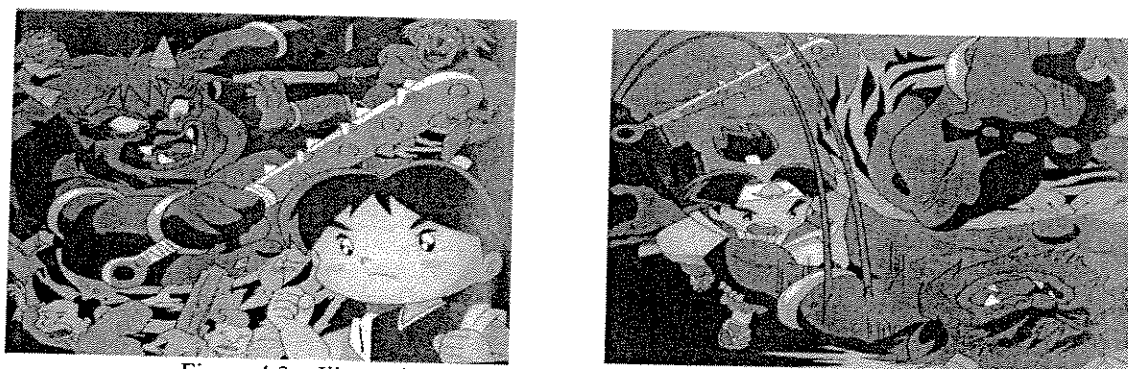


Figure 4.3: Illustrations of *Oni* from *Momotaro* [ThePeach Boy](2007[1997]).

Momotaro decides to fight *oni* (left) and he attacks the boss *oni* (right).

Reprinted with permission of Nagaokashoten Ltd.

Table 4.3: Children's Terms for *Oni* in their English Narratives of the *Momotaro* Story

Lexical Item	No. of children	%
monster	10	35.71%
bad guy	6	21.43%
oni	3	10.71%
troll	2	7.14%
oni, a monster	1	3.57%
one	1	3.57%
∅	1	3.57%
bad thing	1	3.57%
ogre	1	3.57%
someone	1	3.57%
devil	1	3.57%
Total	28	100.00%

Given the availability of different alternative lexical items in English, only three children drew on their Japanese code in the English retellings. This lower usage of Japanese lexical items contrasts with the much higher use of Japanese lexical items for the food items *kibi-dango* and *momo*, as described in Sections 4.1 and 4.2.

4.4. Words among Bilinguals in the Context of Hawai'i

In Section 4 thus far, I have analyzed some lexical items as having a possible categorization as fused lects. The use of Japanese terms, *mochi* or *dango* 'dumpling', *momo* 'peach', and *oni* 'ogre' in some of the children's English narratives may not be a code-switch but still the same code, that is, a variety of English in the context of Hawai'i. The fluctuation in the use of words may be explained by gradual transitions in individual children's resources from code-switching to language mixing to fused lect.

Children's narratives of the culture-specific story are based on the variety of English in Hawai'i, in contrast to Takagi's (2000) data from bilingual children in the U.K. Hence, the culture-specific terms discussed in this section did not elicit code-switching within a sentence boundary. In fact, various studies of code-switching in children (Garcia, 1980; Lindholm & Padilla, 1978; Poplack, 1983) report that single lexical switches represent a far higher proportion of the total number of switches in children's speech than in that of adults of the same social group, and the large majority of children's switches appear to be related to questions of vocabulary availability (Gardner-Chloros, 1990) which was found in my data most frequently as to code-switches in the children's narratives. So far, the code-switching literature has attempted to make the distinction between code-switching and borrowing, and Poplack claims that an item is considered a borrowing, if it shows phonological, morphological, and syntactic integration into the matrix language (Poplack, 1980). Borrowed items "belong to a specifiable set from the embedded language which speakers know as part of matrix language competence, accomplishing encoding of interpersonal social meanings innovatively, as opposed to borrowings" (Myers-Scotton, 1990 p.103). For the participants in the study in Hawai'i, these Japanese lexical items were

bivalent, that is, the children used words that belong equally to both codes (Woolard, 1998). They are integrated into the English narratives at the lexical level, and their phonology shows transitions from Japanese to English (i.e., the child narrators use English phonology with the Japanese words). Functional as well as formal distinctions are made between switches and gradual transitions in languages (Auer, 1995) that are characteristic of Woolard's concept of bivalency and interference. Bivalency is realized by the use of words which belong equally to both codes and interference means that a linguistic overlap arising from language contact, in which two systems are simultaneously applied to a linguistic item (Haugen 1956 p.50; Woolard 1998 p.14). For example, *sushi* is bivalent in both Japanese and English. Food items are often borrowed and enjoy widespread use if they are not available in English. As such, the word *mochi* is bivalent in Hawai'i English. Rather than "a rice flour cake," *mochi* is used in the community.

In contrast with the food lexical item, for the word *oni* the children differ greatly in their use of *oni* and various English alternatives including *monster*, *ogre*, *bad guy*, *devil* (See Table 4.3). Stabilization of the culture-specific words can be explained by the continuum in Table 1.

5.0. CHILDREN AS BILINGUAL ELITE

5.1. Japanese in Hawai'i

The next section considers Japanese-English child bilingualism in the context of the affluent bilingual families of Japanese origin in Hawai'i. English has been highly valued for Japanese families in Hawai'i, because English is crucial for educational and socioeconomic achievement. The parents of the children in the study have an international background and they recognize the importance of English for achieving success outside of Japan.

Japanese has a widespread functional role in the multilingual Hawai'ian society, and as a result, Japanese is a politically important language. According to the 2000 census, 18.4% of the population in the City and County of Honolulu, Hawai'i is of Japanese ancestry.⁷ This percentage does not mean that 18.4% of the population in Honolulu speaks Japanese. However, we can interpret the census data as suggesting that the variety of English in Hawai'i has been influenced by the Japanese language.

Table 5.1.1: Population by Ethnic Origins in the City and County of Honolulu (Census, 2000)

Ethnicity	Population (N)	Population (%)
Total population	876,156	100.00%
Non-Asians	375,202	42.824%
Japanese	161,224	18.401%
Filipino	124,072	14.161%
Chinese	53,322	6.086%
Korean	21,681	2.475%
Vietnamese	7,392	0.844%
Other Asian	2,854	0.326%
Laotian	1,778	0.203%
Asian Indian	1,191	0.136%
Thai	1,018	0.116%
Indonesian	217	0.025%
Cambodian	206	0.024%
Sri Lankan	105	0.011%
Malaysian	82	0.009%
Pakistani	34	0.004%
Hmong	20	0.002%
Bangladeshi	6	0.001%

In addition to 18.4% of the population that self-identified as of Japanese ethnicity, 24.5% chose Japanese as their country origin in their multiple answer columns. This higher percentage included the local residents of Japanese origin, although, this high percentage of Japanese in Hawai'i implies that the Japanese language may have been used as their heritage language in Hawai'i among local Japanese residents. Furthermore, according to the annual report of statistics by the Consular and Migration Policy Division, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, the number of Japanese nationals who are permanent residents in Hawai'i has remained stable over the past years. As of October 1, 2006, the population of Japanese nationals was 15,027. The participants' families can be categorized as belonging to the Japanese national populations in Hawai'i and can be further described as nationals who aligned with Japan more than local Japanese in Hawai'i. This number and categorization are important, because parents' attitudes towards language use including bilingualism, may be due to their residency and nationality status.

Table 5.1.B: Population of Japanese Permanent Residents in the City and County of Honolulu

Year	No. of Japanese Residents in Hawai'i
1997	11,665
1998	11,490
1999	11,574
2000	12,564
2001	15,531
2002	13,406
2003	14,151
2004	13,659
2005	13,441
2006	15,027

Previous sociolinguistic studies have indicated that the size and status of the L1 and L2 can be factors in determining whether bilingualism is valued or whether bilingualism is considered an undesirable obstacle to assimilation (Siegel, 2003). Given these social environmental factors in Hawai'i, including the large populations of ethnic Japanese and Japanese nationals, the size and the status of the Japanese are considered large, and this fact may contribute to the prevailing attitude favoring balanced bilingualism among affluent families of Japanese origin.

5.2. Japanese Input at After-school Lessons

Although Japanese enjoys widespread use in Hawai'i due to a large proportion of Japanese residents and tourists, Japanese remains a minority language in relation to English. Opportunities for education in Japanese are limited, and English is the language of instruction in elementary, secondary, and tertiary education. Although no daily schooling in Japanese is available, Saturday schools, Sunday church schools, *kyoku* (after-school cram schools) and other types of after-school lessons (e.g., piano, soccer, and abacus in Japanese) offer sources of Japanese input outside the home. Because of the limited sources of Japanese input, formal Japanese learning is accessible mainly to the children whose families support them in the pursuit of bilingualism. Such parents, including the parents of the participants in the study, enroll their children in after-school lessons and other activities in Japanese, as illustrated in Tables 5.2.1 and 5.2.2; the data below are based on parents' answers to their children's background questionnaires.

Table 5.2.1: Number of Children Taking After-School Lessons and Lessons in Japanese

Activities after school		Activities taught in Japanese	
	No. of children		No. of children
Yes	21	Yes	21
No	1	No	7
Total	28	Total	28

Table 5.2.2: Types and Number of After-School Lessons Taught in Japanese

Types of activities		No. of children
Study	jyuku	8
	Saturday school	5
	Sunday church school	6
	tutoring	2
	abacus	1
	Chinese	1
Others	piano	3
	ballet	1
	soccer	1
	karate	1
Total (items)		29 (out of 21 kids)

6.0. CONCLUSIONS

Many Japanese words are borrowed and used in different varieties of English in Hawai'i. Because of these borrowings, the choice of Japanese culture-specific lexical items, including *mochi*, *dango*, *momo* and the character *oni* by bilingual children are not likely to be referred to as code-switching. Rather, these words should be analyzed as bivalent in their respective languages of Japanese and English. In contrast to Takagi (2000), Japanese culture-specific terms did not trigger code-switching. Instead, the children used the terms as borrowings from Japanese, including using English phonology. The idea of continuum from code-switching to fused lect (Auer, 1998) and bivalency (Woolard, 1998) were examined from the perspective of the children's use of codes for culture-specific items. Food items such as *mochi dango*, and *momo* were bivalent, because each single word belonged to both Japanese and English for these bilingual children in Hawai'i. In contrast, the lexical item *oni* exhibited fluctuation of use, and, therefore, it cannot be fully considered part of a fused lect. Integration of the lexical items into the English narratives as well as their phonological adaptations to English showed transitions from Japanese to English.

In addition, careful examination of the children's language background sheds light on possible relationships between the children's narratives and their Japanese language input. The participants have access to both languages in schooling and after-school lessons, as well as in the home. Schooling in English and after-school lessons in Japanese have a positive influence on the children's bilingual language acquisition and maintenance of their Japanese. As is clear from the children's involvement in different language contexts, bilingualism is valued in this community among participants' families using both Japanese and English for their international careers. Background information on the children's language use at home, school, and after-school activities suggests that their high degree of bilingualism resulted specifically from the mothers' willingness to educate their children in both languages in two ways. First, through their conscious efforts to speak Japanese with their children, and second, through enrolling their children in after-school lessons in Japanese.

In sum, this research highlighted Japanese-English children's bilingual use of codes in narrative storytelling and considered how bilingualism was reinforced by the children's families and the children's educational settings in the multilingual environment of Hawai'i.

APPENDIX

Transcription Conventions

.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
?	rising intonation
=	latched turn with no gap or overlap, or continuation by same speaker

:	sound stretch
[overlap
° <i>etto</i> °	whispered
<u>born</u>	greater than normal stress
↑	rise in pitch
:	sound stretch
<5:0>	pause in seconds
(.)	micropause
(the)	unsure hearing
TALK	loud volume
> <	fast speech
((laugh))	description of non-verbal actions

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
EMP	emphatic
FP	final particle
GEN	genitive marker
HON	honorific marker
MASC	masculine
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominative marker
SG	singular
PERF	perfective
PRS	present
PST	past
TAG	tag
TOP	topic marker

NOTES

1. I am grateful for the invaluable comments made on my earlier drafts by Christina Higgins, Mie Hiramoto, Michael Forman, Ann Peters, Terry Klafehn, and Laurie Durand. Thanks are also due to the members of the Sociolinguistics Writing Workshop as well as students in Second Language Studies 678 and Linguistics 640G(3) at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. All remaining shortcomings are solely my own responsibility.
2. All names are pseudonyms.
3. Number in parentheses indicates the number of girls.
4. Japanese elements are indicated in *italics*.
5. (;) indicates a child's age (years; months).
6. 'I' stands for 'Interlocutor' throughout this study.
7. The data consist of the answers based on race alone, answered by people who chose only one race. An "Asian" is a person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia or the Indian subcontinent.

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IS AMIS AN ERGATIVE OR ACCUSATIVE LANGUAGE? *

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ABSTRACT

This study proposes an accusative analysis for Amis—one of the aboriginal languages spoken on the east coast of Taiwan. No previous studies explicitly claim that Amis is an accusative or ergative language, although Starosta (2002) claims that all the Formosan languages are ergative. This study examines whether Amis is accusative or ergative from its semantic transitivity and morphological markings. The results suggest that Amis might be better classified as an accusative language rather than an ergative language.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This study examines whether Amis is an ergative or accusative language in light of its semantic transitivity and morphological markings. Amis is an Austronesian language spoken on the east coast of Taiwan. Starosta (2002) proposed that all the Formosan languages are ergative. This ergative statement includes Amis since Formosan languages include all the Austronesian languages spoken in mainland Taiwan. In the existing literature, no researchers have proposed what language type for Amis. Our study fills in this significant gap in the Amis study. We will explore the answer from two aspects: semantic transitivity and morphological markings.

There are two possible canonical transitive patterns in Amis—Agent Focus (AF) and Patient Focus (PF). Both AF and PF sentences can carry two arguments, which are called the dyadic patterns. The ergative and accusative analyses differ mainly in which pattern is treated as the canonical transitive pattern. If a dyadic AF verb is transitive, Amis is an accusative language. Conversely, if a dyadic AF verb is intransitive and a dyadic PF verb is transitive, then Amis is an ergative language. Determining whether the AF or PF sentence is the canonical transitive pattern helps determine the language type of Amis. To determine the canonical transitivity pattern of any language, there are two major methods: semantic transitivity and morphological markings.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides background information on the distinction between ergativity and accusativity. Section 3 introduces morphosyntactic phenomena essential to the discussion of Amis. Based on the Amis facts, this paper proposes three possible analyses for Amis case marking in Section 4. Section 5 utilizes two methods to determine Amis as ergative or accusative: a) an examination of the semantic transitivity in the dyadic AF and PF sentences and b) an analysis of the morphological marking of the AF and PF sentences. Section 6 ends the paper with concluding remarks.

2.0. BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE: ACCUSATIVITY VS. ERGATIVITY

The dichotomy between ergative and accusative languages is based on any given language groups subjects among core arguments in intransitive and canonical transitive sentences, as shown in Figure 1.

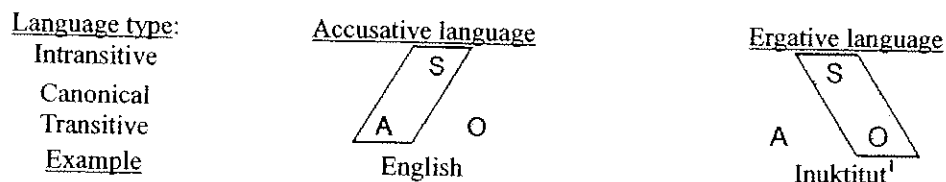


Figure 1: Dichotomy between Accusative Language and Ergative Language

An accusative language, such as English, treats the Subject (S) of an intransitive sentence and the Agent (A) of a transitive sentence alike, while the Object (O) of a transitive sentence is treated differently. The S/A case marking is termed nominative and O is termed accusative. It is different from an ergative language, such as Inuktitut, where the S of an intransitive sentence and the O of a transitive sentence are treated alike, while the A of a transitive sentence is treated differently. In an ergative language, the case marking for S/O is named absolutive, while the case marking for A is ergative.

The S/A (or accusative) and S/O (or ergative) alignments can be manifested by their morphological case marking of the core arguments. In English, the S of the intransitive verb, such as *I* in (1a), and the A of transitive verb, such as *I* in (1b), are both assigned nominative case. Meanwhile, the O of the transitive verb, such as *him* in (1b), is assigned accusative case.

- (1) a. English: intransitive sentence
 I/**Me* came here.
 b. English: transitive sentence
 I hit *him*/**he*.

The following examples of Inuktitut show an S/O alignment.

- (2) a. Inuktitut: intransitive sentence (Spreng, 2006, p. 248)
 Anguti niri-vuq.
 man.ABS² eat.IND.3SG
 ‘The man is eating.’
 b. Inuktitut: transitive sentence (Spreng, 2006, p. 248)
 Anguti-up **arnaq** kunik-taa.
 man-ERG woman.ABS kiss-PART.3SG/3SG
 ‘The man kissed the woman.’

The S *anguti* ‘man’ in (2a) the O *arnaq* ‘woman’ in (2b) are absolutive case-marked, while the A *anguti* ‘man’ takes an ergative case marker *-up*.

In addition to the morphological marking, the contrast between ergative and accusative alignment can also be manifested in some syntactic operations, such as coordination reduction and relativization.

Coordination reduction test: English (Comrie, 1989, p. 111–12)

- (3) The man_i hit the woman_j.
 (4) a. The man_i came here.
 b. The woman_j came here.
 (5) **The man_i hit woman_j and _____{i*}_j came here.** (= 3 + 4)

In the coordination reduction test, English demonstrates syntactic accusativity in that the S and A can be gapped in the second clause of a coordination, as shown in (5).

Regarding syntactic ergativity, ergative languages shows an S/O alignment. Take Tongan for example.

- (6) a. Tongan: Relativized S/ Gap strategy (Otsuka, 2006, p. 81)
 e fefine_i [na?e taNi _____i]
 DEF woman PST cry
 ‘the woman (who) cried’
 b. Tongan: Relativized O/ Gap strategy (Otsuka, 2006, p. 81)
 e fefine_i [na?e fili ?e Sione _____i]
 DEF woman PST choose ERG Sione
 ‘the woman (who) Sione chose’
 (7) a. Tongan: Relativized A/ Resumptive pronoun (Otsuka, 2006, p. 81)
 e fefine_i [na?e ne_i fili ?a Sione]
 DEF woman PST 3S choose ABS Sione
 ‘the woman (who) chose Sione’
 b. Tongan: Relativized A/ Gap strategy (Otsuka, 2006, p. 81)
 *e fefine_i [na?e _____i fili ?a Sione]
 DEF woman PST choose ABS Sione
 ‘the woman (who) chose Sione’

According to Otsuka (2006, p. 81), both S and O can undergo relativization via gap strategy, while the A relative requires a resumptive pronoun. Notice that syntactic ergativity only takes place in a handful of languages. In the existing literature, a language is claimed to be ergative mainly based on its morphological case marking rather syntactic operation.

3.0. AMIS LANGUAGE PHENOMENA

3.1. Language Background

Amis is spoken on the eastern coast of Taiwan. According to Tsuchida's (1982) classification, Amis is divided into five major dialects: Sakizaya, Northern Amis, Tavalong-Vataan, Central Amis (Haian Amis), and Southern Amis (Peinan and Hengchun Amis). The informants in this study are from Changkuan community of Taitung County, which is called *Kiwkangan* 'stone pit' in Amis. Their dialect belongs to Central Amis. The villagers above age 40 primarily speak Amis and occasionally use Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese and Japanese. The intergenerational transmission rate of Amis is extremely low. The villagers under age 40 can barely speak Amis.

3.2. Verbal Morphology

Amis is a verb-initial language. Its verbs comprise a root, a focus marker, and a bound tense/aspect marker. Like other Formosan and Philippine languages, Amis has a focus system that can be divided into four types: Agent Focus (AF), Patient Focus (PF), Locative Focus (LF), and Instrument Focus (IF). The Amis focus system is shown in the following table:

Table 1: Amis Focus System (mainly based on Wu 1995; adapted from Huang, 1996; Tsai-hsiu Liu, 1999)

Focus	Agent Focus (AF) ³	Patient Focus (PF) ⁴	Locative Focus (LF)	Instrument Focus (IF)
marker	mi-, ma-, <um>, ø	ma-, -<+n, mi...an	-an	sa-

The focus markers affixed to the verbs permit a range of arguments to serve as the most prominent NPs of the clauses. In addition, these focused NPs are assigned the same case marking. The focused NPs (e.g., *wawa* 'child', *≠↔Ro* 'mouse', *lutuk* 'mountain', and *≠acam* 'bamboo pole') in four foci are all preceded by a *ku* marker⁵, as shown in (8)–(11).

- (8) a. AF construction: monadic pattern
Ma-tawa ku wawa (i liyar).
 AF-laugh KU child PREP sea
 'The child laughs (at sea).'
- b. AF construction: dyadic pattern
Mi-tiwas ku wawa tu ≠↔Ro.
 AF-hook KU child TU mouse
 'The child hooks that mouse.'
- (9) a. PF construction: monadic pattern
Ma-patay ku ≠↔Ro.
 PF-die KU mouse
 'That mouse died.' or 'That mouse got killed.'
- b. PF construction: dyadic pattern
Ma-tiwas nu wawa ku ≠↔Ro.
 PF-hook NU child KU mouse
 'The child hooked the mouse.'
- b'. PF construction: dyadic pattern
tiwas-en nu wawa ku ≠↔Ro.
 hook-PF NU child KU mouse
 'The child will hook the mouse.'
- b". PF construction: dyadic pattern
Mi-tiwas-an nu wawa ku ≠↔Ro.
 PF-hook- PF NU child KU mouse
 'The child had hooked the mouse.'

- (10) LF construction: triadic pattern
Pi-tiwas-an nu wawa **ku** **lutuk** tu $\neq \leftrightarrow$ Ro.
 LF-hook-LF NU child KU mountain TU mouse
 'The child hooks the mouse at the mountain.'
- (11) IF construction: triadic pattern
Sapi-tiwas nu wawa **ku** **≠acam** tu $\neq \leftrightarrow$ Ro.
 IF-hook NU child KU bamboo.pole TU mouse
 'The child hooks the mouse with the bamboo pole.'

The patient $\neq \leftrightarrow$ Ro 'mouse' in all foci except for PF is consistently preceded by a *tu* marker⁶, as shown in (8b), (10), and (11). The agent *wawa* 'child' is preceded by a *nu* marker in all foci except for AF, as (9b), (10) and (11) indicate. The markers for common nouns in different foci are recapitulated in Table 2.

Table 2: Case Marking in Different Focus Constructions

Focus	Argument	Agent	Patient	Location	Instrument	Example
AF	monadic	ku				(8a)
	dyadic	ku	<i>tu</i>			(8b)
PF	monadic		ku			(9a)
	dyadic	nu	ku			(9b)
LF	triadic	nu	<i>tu</i>	ku		(10)
IF	triadic	nu	<i>tu</i>		ku	(11)

4.0. THREE POSSIBLE ANALYSES

In this study we propose three possible analyses for the Amis data. One analysis leads to the conclusion that Amis is an ergative language; and the other two analyses show that Amis is an accusative language. The difference between the ergative and accusative proposals lies in whether the dyadic AF pattern, the dyadic PF pattern, or both patterns are treated as the canonical transitive construction(s) in Amis. Each analysis will be introduced in the following sub-sections. Note that common nouns are used in all examples to demonstrate the case variations in this paper to ease our comparison.

4.1. Ergative Analysis: Intransitive AF Structure and Transitive PF Structure

The ergative analysis results from treating the dyadic PF pattern as the transitive structure and the dyadic AF pattern as the intransitive structure in Amis.

Table 3: Ergative Analysis for Case marking of AF/PF Verbs in Amis

Argument	Case	Structure	Example	Marker
A	ERGATIVE	agent of dyadic PF verb	(9b)	nu
O	ABSOLUTIVE	patient of dyadic PF verb	(9b)	ku
S	ABSOLUTIVE	agent of monadic AF verb	(8a)	ku
		agent of dyadic AF verb	(8b)	ku
Oblique	OBLIQUE	patient of dyadic AF verb	(8b)	<i>tu</i>

In Table 3, the patient of PF verb and agent of AF verb take the same case marker *ku*, while the agent of the PF verb has a different case marker *nu*. Table 3 shows that Amis treats S and O alike. In contrast, A behaves differently.

If the assumption holds that the dyadic PF verb is transitive and the dyadic AF verb is intransitive, then Amis is an ergative language. In the ergative analysis, a PF sentence stands for the canonical transitive structure and an AF sentence represents an antipassive structure in Amis. Both S and O receive an absolutive case marking while A takes an ergative case marking. The patient in the antipassive structure is analyzed as a non-core argument and receives an oblique case marking. Though no previous study explicitly claims that Amis is an ergative language, Tsukida's (2005a, 2005b) and Wu's (2006, 2007) use of the terms *oblique* in reference to the marker *tu* might indicate that they consider Amis as ergative. Past researches have shown that some

Formosan languages are analyzed as possessing ergativity (Huang 1994, Liao 2004, Starosta 1997, 1998, 1999, 2002 for Atayal; Liao 2002 for Kavalan; Wang 2004 for Thao; etc).

4.2. Accusative Plus Voice Analysis: Transitive AF Structure and Intransitive PF Structure

Another possible analysis is to treat the AF monadic pattern as the intransitive structure, the AF dyadic pattern as the transitive structure, and the dyadic PF pattern as the derived passive structure.

Table 4: Accusative plus Voice Analysis for Case marking of AF/PF Verbs in Amis

Argument	Case	Structure	Example	Marker
S	NOMINATIVE	agent of monadic AF verb	(8a)	ku
		patient of dyadic PF verb	(9b)	ku
A	NOMINATIVE	agent of dyadic AF verb	(8b)	ku
O	ACCUSATIVE	patient of dyadic AF verb	(8b)	tu
Oblique	OBLIQUE	agent of dyadic PF verb	(9b)	nu

In Table 4, the agent of AF verb and the patient of PF verb have the same marker *ku*, while the patient of AF verb has a *tu* case marking. Table 4 shows that S and A behave alike and that O behaves differently.

In the accusative plus voice analysis, Amis is classified as accusative. Both S and A take the nominative case marking while O is assigned accusative case marking. The PF markers are treated as markers of the passive voice, such as the English passive suffixes *-en* and *-ed* in *eaten* and *kicked*. The dyadic PF pattern is analyzed as the derived passive construction with the promoted patient and the downgraded agent. The promoted patient takes the nominative case and the agent is downgraded to an oblique. Most studies on Amis adopt a voice analysis, such as En-hsing Liu (2003), Tsai-hsiu Liu (1999), Tsukida (1992, 2005a, 2005b), Wu (2006, 2007), etc.⁷

4.3. Accusative Plus Focus Analysis: Transitive AF Structure and Transitive PF Structure

The third possible analysis is to treat both the dyadic AF and PF patterns as transitive and the monadic AF pattern as intransitive, while treating *ku* as a focus marker. This might be referred to as the accusative plus focus analysis.⁸

Table 5: Accusative plus Focus Analysis for Case marking of AF/PF Verbs in Amis

Argument	Case	Structure	Example	Underlying Marker	Surface Marker
S	NOMINATIVE	agent of monadic AF verb	(8a)	nu	ku (focused)
A	NOMINATIVE	agent of dyadic AF verb	(8b)	nu	ku (focused)
		agent of dyadic PF verb	(9b)	nu	nu (unfocused)
O	ACCUSATIVE	patient of dyadic PF verb	(9b)	tu	ku (focused)
		patient of dyadic AF verb	(8b)	tu	tu (unfocused)
Focus	CASELESS	focused NP	(8a), (8b), (9a), (9b)	ku	ku (focused)
Oblique	OBLIQUE	adverbial phrase	(8a)	i	i (unfocused)

In Table 5, the underlying marking of the NPs shows that there is a one-to-one mapping between the grammatical case marking and semantic role in Amis: an agent takes a nominative case *nu*, a patient has an accusative *tu*, a focused NP is assigned a *ku* marker, and an adverbial NP is marked by an oblique marker *i*. The surface marking of the focused NPs hides the one-to-one relation because the underlying marking of the focused NPs (e.g., *nu* and *tu*) is deleted when co-occurring with a focus marker (e.g., *ku*).

That focus markers make case marking devious is not an isolating phenomenon. A similar phenomenon has been detected in Japanese (Kuno, 1973; Shibatani, 1990). There are certain co-occurrence restrictions between certain case markers (e.g., *ga* for subject and *o* for object) and the focus markers (e.g. *wa* for topic, *mo* 'also', and *shika* 'only') in Japanese.

- (12) Japanese: Co-occurrence restriction of *ga-wa (Lee, 2002, p. 651)
- a. *Taroo ga wa kita yo.
Taro NOM TOP came FP
'As for Taro, he has come.'
- b. Taroo wa kita yo.
Taro TOP came FP
'As for Taro, he has come.'

(12a) shows the topic marker *wa* and subject marker *ga* cannot co-occur. The subject marker *ga* has to be deleted when *wa* and *ga* co-occur, as shown in (12b).

Applying this focus analysis to account for the Amis case marking shows that the underlying marking of both S and A have the same marking *nu*, while O takes a different case marking *tu*. If the focus analysis is correct, then Amis is an accusative language.

5.0 SEMANTIC TRANSITIVITY AND MORPHOLOGICAL MARKING

This section examines which dyadic pattern, AF or PF or both, should be treated as the Amis canonical transitive structure from two aspects: semantic transitivity and morphological marking.

5.1. Semantic Transitivity

Hopper & Thompson (1980) propose that varying degrees of semantic transitivity might or can be encoded in certain morphosyntactic devices. This study compares the degrees of semantic transitivity for both dyadic AF and PF verbs from four parameters: i) participants; ii) kinesic; iii) agency; and vi) individuality of O.

5.1.1. Participants: AF Verb is More Transitive Than PF Verb

We posit two hypotheses to distinguish whether AF or PF verb is more transitive based on how many participants the AF and PF verbs can take.

- (13) Hypotheses to examine the participants of AF and PF verbs with the same stems:
- i) If the dyadic AF pattern is the canonical transitive structure, AF takes 2 or more participants; or
 - ii) if the dyadic PF pattern is the canonical transitive structure, PF takes 2 or more participants.

- (14)
- | verb root
participant | AF
monadic | AF
dyadic | PF
monadic | PF
dyadic |
|--------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| patay 'to kill' | NA | mi-patay | ma-patay 'to die' | ma-patay 'to be killed by' |
| c↔kil 'to wake up' | NA | mi-c↔kil | ma-c↔kil 'awakened' | ma-pa-c↔kil 'to be awakened by' |
| c↔N↔l 'color; dirt' | NA | mi-c↔N↔l | ma-c↔N↔l 'dirty' | ma-c↔N↔l 'to be dirtied by' |
| k<um>a↔n 'to eat' | NA | k<um>a↔n | ma-ka↔n 'to be eaten' | ma-ka↔n 'to be eaten by' |

In (14) the PF verbs subcategorize one or two participants, while the AF verbs take two participants only. The participant comparison shows that the AF dyadic verbs are more transitive than the PF dyadic verbs in Amis. Furthermore, the monadic PF verb *ma-c↔kil* 'awakened' requires an extra marking *pa-* in order to become the dyadic PF *ma-pa-c↔kil* 'to be awakened by'.

5.1.2. Kinesis: AF Verb is More Transitive Than PF Verb

Regarding the kinesic parameter, the hypotheses to distinguish whether AF or the PF verb is more transitive are as follows:

- (15) Hypotheses to examine the kinesic of AF and PF verbs with the same stems:
- i) If the dyadic AF pattern is the canonical transitive structure, AF tends to denote action; or
 - ii) if the dyadic PF pattern is the canonical transitive structure, PF tends to denote action.

The AF verbs tend to denote action, while PF verbs tend to denote state or to drop their agents, as shown in (16) and (17).⁹

- (16) AF construction: dyadic pattern
 Mi-ca?it ciNra tu riko_≠.
 AF-hang.up 3SGNOM OBJ clothes
 'He hangs up the clothes.'
- (17) a. PF construction (monadic pattern)
 Ma-ca?it ku riko_≠ itira.
 PF-hang.up NOM clothes there.
 'The clothes are hung up there.'
- b. PF construction (dyadic pattern)
 Ma-ca?it (nura tam₉aw) ku riko_≠.
 PF-kill that.GEN person NOM child
 'The clothes are hung up by that person.'

The AF verb *mi-ca?it* 'to hang up' indicates action in (16), while the PF verb *ma-ca?it* 'to be hung up' in (17) denotes state and is able to drop its agent *nura tam₉aw* 'that(gen) person'. This distinction suggests that an AF dyadic verb is more transitive than a PF dyadic verb.

5.1.3. Agency: AF Verb is More Transitive Than PF Verb

The following hypotheses determine whether AF or PF verb is more transitive on the basis of degree of agency.

- (18) Hypotheses to examine the agency of AF and PF verbs with the same stems:
 i) If the dyadic AF pattern is the canonical transitive structure, its agent tends to be high in agency; or
 ii) if the dyadic PF pattern is the canonical transitive structure, its agent tends to be high in agency.

The agent in the AF pattern tends to be of high agency, while the agent in the PF pattern tends to be of low agency, as shown in (19).

- (19) a. AF dyadic pattern:
 Mi-c↔N↔I ku wawa tu ≠ayam.
 AF-dye NOM child OBJ chicken
 'The child dyes the chicken.'
- b. PF dyadic pattern:
 Ma-c↔N↔I (nu wawa) ku ≠ayam.
 PF-dye NOM child NOM chicken
 'The chicken is dyed (by the child).'

The agent *ku wawa* in the dyadic AF (19a) have control over the event and cannot be omitted, while the same agent *nu wawa* in the dyadic PF (19b) does not have control over the event and can be dropped.

5.1.4. Individuality of O: No Difference Between AF and PF Verbs

The final set of hypotheses to differentiate whether AF or PF verb is more transitive is based on the individuality of O.

- (20) Hypotheses to examine the agency of AF and PF verbs with the same stems:
 i) If the dyadic AF pattern is the canonical transitive structure, the object of the AF verb tends to be highly individuated; or
 ii) If the dyadic PF pattern is the canonical transitive structure, the object of the PF verb tends to be highly individuated.

There is no difference of the individuality of O reflected by the AF/PF dichotomy. The individuality depends upon the usage of case markers. Amis has a full-fledged system of case markers to express referentiality of NPs, as shown in (21).

- (21) a. AF dyadic pattern:
Ma-tawa ku / kuni / kura / kuya kapah
 AF-laugh NOM/this.NOM/that(visible).NOM/that(invisible).NOM young.man
 tu / tuni / tura / tuya kayin.
 OBJ/this.OBJ/that(visible).OBJ/that(invisible).OBJ girl
 'A/This/That/That(invisible) young man laughs at a/this/that/that(invisible) girl.'
- b. PF dyadic pattern:
Maka-tawa nu / nuni /nura/nuya kapah
 PF-laugh GEN/this.GEN/that(visible).GEN/that(invisible).GEN young.man
 ku / kuni / kura / kuya kayin.
 NOM/this.NOM/that(visible).NOM/that(invisible).NOM girl
 'A/This/That/That(invisible) girl is laughed by a/this/that/that(invisible) young man.'

In (21) there is no difference in terms of identifiability between the objects *kayin* of AF and PF patterns. For instance, both *tu futiN* in (21a) and *ku futiN* in (21b) without any demonstrative marking consistently refer to non-specific interpretation. If the Amis speakers need to specify the objects, then they use demonstrative forms instead. According to Cooreman (1994, p. 52), "The occurrence of an antipassive of an antipassive in many languages correlates with a low degree of identifiability of the O in the proposition. Identifiability of the O depends on characteristics often represented in the literature as dichotomies, i. e. definiteness vs. indefiniteness, referentiality vs. non-referentiality, and number (singular vs. plural)." If Amis is an ergative language, then the identifiability of objects should or may differ between (21a) and (21b). However, Amis does not show this distinction.

5.1.5. Recapitulation

Based on the above discussion, the results of the comparison of semantic transitivity between AF and PF dyadic patterns are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6: Comparison of Transitivity between AF and PF Dyadic Patterns in Amis

Parameters of Transitivity	AF dyadic pattern	PF dyadic pattern
Participants	more transitive	less transitive
Kinesis	more transitive	less transitive
Agency	more transitive	less transitive
Individuality of O	transitive	transitive

Table 6 shows that the dyadic AF pattern is more transitive than the dyadic PF pattern in terms of participants, kinesis, and agency, while no difference between the two patterns can be detected in the individuality of O. The results of semantic transitivity suggest that the dyadic AF pattern is a better candidate for the Amis canonical transitive structure than the dyadic PF pattern. This leads to two possibilities: i) the dyadic AF pattern is the canonical transitive structure in Amis; or ii) both dyadic AF and PF patterns are canonical transitive structures in Amis. Notice that the differences in semantic transitivity do not necessarily imply that there should be a difference in syntactic transitivity.

5.2. Morphological Marking

Regarding morphological marking, there are two methods to explore whether the dyadic AF or PF pattern or both are the canonical transitive structure in Amis. One is to examine whether AF or PF verbs or both are the default marking in Amis (cf. Comrie, 1978). The other is to determine with which dyadic pattern(s) the focus marking of the intransitive verbs is identical (cf. Gibson & Starosta, 1990).

5.2.1. Markedness

AF and PF dyadic patterns might differ from each other in terms of their markedness. The less marked construction may be the basic or canonical structure, while the more marked may be the derived one. The markedness criterion helps identify English passive constructions as marked (Comrie, 1978; Givón, 1979). Based on this markedness criterion, it is possible to build hypotheses to distinguish the AF and PF dyadic patterns in Amis, as shown in (22).

- (22) Hypotheses to distinguish the markedness of the dyadic AF and PF patterns:
- If the AF pattern is the canonical transitive construction, AF may be unmarked or less marked than the PF pattern; or
 - if the PF pattern is the canonical transitive construction, PF may be unmarked or less marked than the AF pattern.

Table 7: Morphological Variations of Four Voice Types (based on Tsai-hsiu Liu 1999; Wu 2006, 2007)

Focus	AF	PF			LF	IF
		past	future	past perfective		
mi- type	mi-	ma-	-↔n	mi...an	pi...-an	sa-pi-
ma- type	ma-	maka-	-↔n	mi...an	ka...-an	sa-ka-
<um> type	<um>	ma-	-↔n	mi...an	pi...an, ka...<um>...-an	sa-pi- sa-ka...<um>
Ø type	Ø	NA	-↔n	NA	ka...an	saka-

According to Tsai-hsiu Liu (1999), verb stems have a focal paradigm that derives all forms of the four foci in Amis, as shown in Table 7. Based on the morphological variations of the verb stems, these forms are divided into four types—*mi-* type, *ma-* type, <um> type, and Ø type. Below are the examples to demonstrate the paradigms of these four types:

(23)

Four type	Verb stem	AF	PF			LF	IF
			past	future	past perfective		
mi-	palo# 'beat'	mi-palo#	ma-palo#	palo#↔n	mi-palo#-an	pi- palo#-an *ka- palo#-an	sapi- palo# *saka- palo#
ma-	tawa 'laugh'	ma-tawa	maka-tawa *ma-tawa	tawa↔n	mi-tawa-an	*pi-tawa-an ka-tawa-an	*sapi-tawa saka-tawa
<um>	ka↔n 'eat'	k<um>a ↔n	ma-ka↔n *ma-k<um>a ↔n	ka↔n↔n *k<um>↔n- ↔n	mi-ka↔n-an *mi-k<um>a↔n- -an	pi-ka↔n-an *ka-ka↔n-an *pi-k<um>a↔n- an ka-k<um>a↔n-a n	sapi-ka↔n *saka-ka↔n *sapi-k<um>a ↔n saka-k<um>a↔n
Ø	tayni 'come'	Ø-tayni	*ma-tayni	tayni↔n	*mi-tayni-an	*pi-tayni-an ka-tayni-an	*sapi-tayni saka-tayni

Take the *mi-* type verb stem *palo#* 'beat' for example. The forms of the four foci for the *mi-* type *palo#* are confined to certain selectional combinations. Its AF form is *mi-palo#*; its PF forms are *ma-palo#* (past), *palo#↔n* (future), *mi-palo#-an* (past perfective); its LF form is *pi-palo#-an*, not **ka-palo#-an*; and its IF form is *sapi-palo#*, not **saka-palo#*.

The Amis focal paradigms in Table 7 show that the dyadic AF verbs tend to be less marked and the dyadic PF verbs tend to be more marked. First, a past PF verb of *ma-* type (e.g., *maka-tawa* 'to be laughed at') has an extra marker *ka-* if compared to its AF counterpart (e.g., *ma-tawa* 'to laugh at'). Second, a PF past perfective verb of *mi-* type (e.g., *mi-palo#-an* 'to have been beaten') has an extra marking *-an* than its AF counterpart (e.g., *mi-palo#* 'to beat'). The Amis facts suggest that Amis dyadic AF pattern is a better candidate as the canonical transitive structure in Amis. Based on the data presented, this paper proposes that the dyadic AF pattern or both dyadic AF/PF patterns may be the Amis canonical transitive structure(s). However, the possibility never includes the dyadic PF alone as the canonical transitive structure in Amis.

5.2.2. Morphological Identification

Identification of the focus marking helps distinguish whether dyadic AF or PF is the canonical transitive structure in Amis. Gibson & Starosta (1990, p. 199) observe that "If V_i , V_{i1} , and V_{i2} are all morphologically complex, but the morphological marking of V_{i2} , say, is identical with that of V_i and different

from V_{t1} , then V_{t2} is intransitive, V_{t1} is transitive.” Based on Gibson & Starosta’s (1990) morphological identification, it is possible to set up hypotheses to infer which dyadic pattern is intransitive.

- (24) Hypotheses to distinguish the morphological identification of the dyadic AF and PF patterns:
- i) If the dyadic AF verb is intransitive, then it might have the same marking with the intransitive AF verb; or
 - ii) If the dyadic PF verb is intransitive, then it might have the same marking with the intransitive AF verb.

The Amis focal marking cannot help distinguish which marking of the dyadic pattern is identical to the marking of intransitive verbs.

- (25) AF monadic(intransitive) pattern:

Ma-futi≠ ku wawa itira.
 AF-sleep NOM child there
 ‘The child sleeps there.’

- (26) a. AF dyadic pattern:

Ma-ulah kura fa?inayan kura fafahiyan.
 AF-like that.NOM man that.OBJ woman
 ‘That man likes that woman.’

- b. PF dyadic pattern:

Ma-patay nu wawa ku fafuy itira.
 PF-kill GEN child NOM pig there
 ‘The child killed the pig there.’

The focus marking of the dyadic PF verb *ma-patay* ‘to be killed’ in (26b) is identical to the focus marking of the intransitive verb *ma-futi*≠ ‘sleep’ in (25). Therefore, one conclusion is that the dyadic PF verb is intransitive in Amis. However, it is also possible to compare the intransitive verb *ma-futi*≠ and the dyadic AF verb *ma-ulah* ‘to like’ in (26a). Then, a different conclusion is derived, namely, that the dyadic AF pattern is intransitive in Amis. The contradictory conclusions show that morphological identification alone cannot help distinguish which dyadic pattern is intransitive in Amis.

6.0. CONCLUSION

This study investigated several criteria for determining whether Amis is an ergative or accusative language based on its semantic transitivity and morphological marking. This paper explored three possible analyses for the Amis case marking system: ergative analysis, accusative plus voice analysis, and accusative plus focus analysis. The crucial distinction among the three analyses is whether dyadic AF pattern or dyadic PF pattern or both are treated as canonical transitive structure(s) in Amis. Both semantic transitivity criteria and morphological marking show that AF dyadic pattern alone or both patterns are possible transitive structures in Amis, which, in turn, lends support to the accusative plus voice analysis and the accusative plus focus analysis.

NOTES

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- 1 Inuktitut is an Inuit language spoken by an indigenous group living in the North American Arctic.
- 2 Abbreviations used in this article are listed as follows: ABS=absolute, IND=indicative, SG=singular, ERG=ergative; PART=partitive, DEF=definite, PST=past, AF=agent focus, NOM=nominative, PREP=preposition, OBJ=objective, PF=patient focus, GEN=genitive, LF=locative focus, IF=instrument focus, TOP=topic, FP=sentence-final particle.
- 3 The differences among these four AF markers are both semantic and syntactic. Based on Hopper & Thompson (1980), Yan (1992) claims the Amis focus markers are indicative of semantic transitivity. In

Yan's (1992) ranking, the *mi-* (*ni-* in Yan's Southern Amis) AF verbs are the most transitive, while others are lower in semantic transitivity. Wu (2007, p. 100) indicates that "*mi-* verbs can be characterized to be (syntactically) transitive verbs with a more dynamic nature, e.g., *mi-nanam* '(go to) drink (water)' from *nanum* 'water' and *mi-palu* '(go to) beat someone from *palu* 'beat', <*um*> verbs are mostly intransitive, physical activities that are less dynamic, e.g., *k<um>a↔n* 'eat' from *ka↔n* 'eat' and *r<um>akat* 'walk' from *rakat* 'walk', and *ma-* verbs are frequently associated with involuntary activities or states, e.g., *ma-k↔rk↔r* 'shiver' from *k↔rk↔r* 'shiver' and *ma-ulah* 'like' from *ulah* 'like; love'." Note that Wu (2007) does not include \emptyset marker in the AF marking of Amis. This paper mainly follows Wu's (2007) account for the differentiation of the AF markers but still include the \emptyset AF marker in the Amis focus inventory. The \emptyset -marked AF verbs are syntactically intransitive and low in semantic transitivity, e.g., \emptyset -*tayra* 'to go.'

Zeitoun et al. (1996) propose that the AF and PF markers help carry some tense and aspect information other than foci. The major difference among the three PF markers (*ma-*, *-↔n*, *mi...an*) is that each of them has a different tense and aspect function: *ma-* 'past', *-↔n* 'future', *mi...an* 'past perfective'. Our division of the three PF markers is slightly different from Wu (2007).

Amis prenominal markers are morphologically complex (Tsai-hsiu Liu, 1999). Each prenominal marker can be decomposed into a case marker and a noun classifier. The Amis case marking system and noun classifier system are shown as follows:

Table 8: Amis Case Marking System (mainly based on Tsai-hsiu Liu 1999)

Case	Nominative	Genitive	Objective
Marker	k-	n-	t-

Noun			
Common noun		Non-Common noun	
		Singular	Plural
		-u	-a

Figure 2: Noun Classifier System in Amis (Tsai-hsiu Liu 1999)

Take *ku* for example. *Ku* comprises two bound morphemes: *k* + *u* 'nominative case marker + common noun classifier'. *Ku* can precede a common NP, such as *wawa* 'child'.

Among the previous studies, there are great discrepancies among the glossing of the Amis case markers, especially the objects in the AF sentences. They are marked ACC (accusative) when they are treated as direct object of the AF transitive verbs (e.g., En-hsing Liu, 2003; Huang, 1996; Tsai-hsiu Liu, 1999; Wu, 1995). In contrast, Amis case markers are marked OBL (oblique) or DAT (dative) when treated as non-core arguments of the intransitive AF verbs (e.g., Tsukida, 1992, 2005a, 2005b; Wu, 2006, 2007).

Although all of these studies adopt the voice analysis for the Amis focus system, each study differs in their classification of voices. For instance, Tsukida (1992) proposes Agent Voice (AV) and Goal Voice (GV) for Amis; Tsai-hsiu Liu (1999) and En-hsing Liu (2003) posit four voices—Actor Voice (AV), Patient Voice (PV), Locative Voice (LV), and Instrument Voice (IV); and Wu (2006, 2007) draw the conclusion that Amis has two voices, Actor Voice (AV) and Undergoer Voice (UV). In addition, Tsukida (1992, 2005a, 2005b) and Wu (2006, 2007) imply an ergative point of view in their studies, while Tsai-hsiu Liu (1999) and En-hsing Liu (2003) have an accusative assumption in their analyses.

This analysis was suggested to me by Shigeo Tonoike (personal communication, March, 2008). A full-fledged account of this accusative plus focus analysis for Amis will be available in Liu & Tonoike (forthcoming).

To ease the following discussion, the focused NPs are marked NOM (nominative), the agents in the Non-Agent Focus (NAF) are GEN (genitive), and the objects both in AF and NAF are OBJ (object).

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INVESTIGATING PRAGMATICS AND ITEM DIFFICULTY OF MDCT ITEMS IN THE JEFL ASSESSMENT CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

A new class of multiple-choice discourse completion tasks (MDCT) has appeared in the Japan English as a Foreign Language assessment context, including a prominent university entrance examination. This study investigated whether the pragmatic behavior of test-takers affected their performance on MDCT items. An experimental MDCT exam was administered to a sample of Japanese university students, and the data was analyzed using classical test theory and Rasch analysis. The results suggest that the MDCT item difficulty in the Japanese EFL assessment context might be affected by the pragmatic abilities of the test-takers.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Interest is growing in improving language evaluation systems to incorporate communicative-based language assessment in Japan. This emphasis on students' communicative competences is one of a number of recent agendas in primary, secondary, and post-secondary English education in the country following a July 2002 mandate by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology known as "A Strategic Plan to Cultivate Japanese with English Abilities" (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, 2003). One type of testing item that seems to be increasing in popularity is the multiple-choice discourse completion task (MDCT). The popularity of MDCTs has reached the point where a prominent national university entrance exam administered to nearly half a million students annually uses MDCT items. Although relatively new to real world language assessment, MDCTs have been studied for several decades as experimental testing items in the field of language assessment research. As with any new use of a testing item in real world assessment, whether the item is appropriate for the intended purpose is a concern. In other words, we must establish good reason to believe that test items, such as MDCTs, are really assessing what we intend them to measure. Given their widespread use on high-stakes gate-keeping tests, such as university entrance exams, not establishing the appropriateness of MDCTs to the desired context(s) would be a critical mistake with far-reaching implications.

This seems to be the situation with the use of MDCTs in language assessment in Japan. In experiments, MDCT items are primarily tools for investigating pragmatic behavior and not for assessing general language skills (e.g., listening and speaking). Yet, MDCTs now appear in Japanese textbooks, classroom exams, and nationwide language tests, often intended as measures of general language skills. The prime example of this is the *National Center Examination for University Admissions* (*Daigaku Nyushi Sentaa Shiken*; hereafter the *Center Test*), a nationwide university entrance exam, which uses MDCTs to measure the listening proficiency of Japanese high school students. The focal point of this study is to examine the connection between the pragmatic behavior of test-takers and their performance on MDCT exams as a way of investigating the appropriateness of MDCTs for English listening assessment in the Japanese EFL context. If it can be empirically established that MDCT performance is affected by pragmatic behavior, this finding will have test validity implications for MDCT-based exams, like the *Center Test*, whose purpose is to measure general language skills.

2.0. MDCTs IN LANGUAGE ASSESSMENT RESEARCH

2.1. Development of MDCTs in L2 Language Assessment

Discourse completion tasks (DCTs) have existed as a proficiency measurement in the field of language assessment for over three decades. Levinston (1975) first explored the potential of DCTs while developing tests to assess the language proficiencies of adult Canadian immigrants enrolled in ESL courses. Although Levinston did not use the term "DCT" to refer to his test items, subsequent researchers developed the term and retroactively applied it to such tests. Following disappointing results and poor test reliability, the use of DCTs shifted from language assessment to pragmatics research, where it began to gain acceptance as a language elicitation tool in large-scale speech act realization studies like the cross-cultural study of speech act realization patterns (Blum-Kulka & Olshtain, 1984). After researchers acquired a wealth of speech act data and a clearer understanding of DCT item design from many years of such experimental use, researchers began making

cautious re-inquiries into the potential of DCTs in language tests. Because the testing context and practicality of administration were major concerns, multiple-choice DCTs emerged.

Hudson, Detmer, and Brown (1995) conducted an ambitious and systematic effort to develop DCTs as practical instruments for assessing L2 proficiency. MDCTs were among the six types of instruments investigated as assessments of the pragmatic proficiency of Japanese ESL students. The MDCT format consisted of a situational prompt followed by three response options to choose from, as shown in Example 1. The situations were limited to three speech acts: requests, refusals, and apologies. The choice of these speech acts is not surprising given that they are the most common and best understood speech acts in pragmatics research. The correct answer (i.e., the key) was developed by analyzing the common responses of English native speakers to open-ended versions of the situational prompts. The incorrect answers (i.e., the distractors) were developed by analyzing the common responses of non-native speakers. All answer choices were designed to contain different pragmatic strategies. Depending on the strategies used, the overall acceptability of an answer choice in a particular language situation could be altered. This is because sociocultural variables such as politeness, regret, and directness can be encoded in the form of these strategies. The key was simply identified as being the most appropriate answer in terms of strategy use as established by native speakers of the target language. The distractors cannot be said to be completely incorrect but rather are less appropriate than the key in terms of strategy use as exhibited by response patterns of native speakers of the target language.

(1) Example 1

You are applying for a loan at a small bank. You have filled out all the forms and are reaching over the desk to hand them to the loan officer when you accidentally knock over the loan officer's desk calendar.

1. Oops, sorry about that.
2. Oh my. I'm quite sorry. I hope it's not harmed.
3. Oh, I'm sorry. I didn't break anything.

(Hudson et al., 1995, p. 126)

The test reliability of MDCTs, however, has presented a problem. The multiple-choice items performed with the lowest reliability of six instrument types when administered to 22 Japanese ESL learners (Hudson, 2001). This result is confirmed by earlier attempts to administer a similar test in the Japanese EFL context (Yoshitake, 1997) and a Japanese version of the test in the Japanese as a second language context (Yamashita, 1996). All three studies show the difficulty of designing MDCT-based exams that perform reliably, therefore casting into doubt the usefulness of MDCTs in pragmatic language assessment.

More recently, Jianda (2007) demonstrated greater reliability of an MDCT pragmatics test to assess the pragmatic proficiency of Chinese EFL learners with regard to apology speech acts. Although the test items (Example 2) used were similar in basic format to those of Hudson et al. (1995), Jianda incorporated an exhaustive item design protocol in terms of scope and complexity to improve the authenticity of the exam for the targeted population. Comprehensive surveys of Chinese EFL learners followed by multiple rounds of pilot testing aided in the design of situational prompts and keys that were familiar and appropriate to Chinese EFL learners. Jianda's item design also made it possible to select specific distractors that performed with the greatest reliability. The test was administered to 105 Chinese university students, and the overall reliability estimate was .83, an indication of reasonable reliability. Jianda's careful attention to item authenticity and resulting success implies that a comprehensive, context-sensitive, and target-user specific MDCT design protocol is a major factor in reliable test design.

(2) Example 2

You are a student. You are now rushing to the classroom as you are going to be late for the class. When you turn a corner, you accidentally bump into a student whom you do not know and the books he is carrying fall onto the ground. You stop, pick the books up, and apologize.

1. Oops, sorry, my fault. I'm in such a hurry. Here let me help pick these up for you.

2. I'm sorry, I will be late if I'm not in a hurry. I'll pay attention to this when I turn corner next time.
3. Oh, I'm very sorry. I'm going to be late for my class, and if I'm late, I won't be allowed to enter the classroom. But I like this course very much. So, sorry again!

(Jianda, 2007, p. 415)

Promising results for MDCT test reliability have also been found in studies that incorporate technology and computer language testing. Tada (2005) developed a computer-based MDCT exam for Japanese EFL learners that blends audio and video media with typical text-based MDCT items for the three major speech acts: apologies, requests, and refusals. Realistic characters played by Japanese and English native speaker performers were filmed acting out situational prompts and answer choices. The videos supplemented the corresponding onscreen text that test-takers read. In an administration to 48 Japanese university students, the 24-item test obtained a reasonable reliability coefficient of .75. Roever (2006) also combined technology and language routine MDCTs (rather than speech acts) in a web-based pragmatics test. Language routines are common functional language expressions such as greetings and introductions. The item format used much shorter situational prompts, distractors, and keys than previous tests. The shortness of the situational prompts is likely a result of the relative simplicity of routines when compared to speech acts, which can vary depending on situational variables, such as context and speaker and listener roles and relationships, all of which should be provided to the test-taker. Roever's items consisted of short prompts followed by four response options rather than the typical three (Example 3). The routines used were adapted from a taxonomy of German routines (Pürschel et al., 1994, cited in Roever, 2006, p. 234) which were then translated into English and administered to 222 Japanese EFL learners from various contexts. Cronbach's alpha, an indicator of test reliability, was calculated at .73, lower than those of Jianda (2007) and Tada (2005) but still considerably higher than the values observed by Hudson et al. (1995). Such promising results suggest that routine-based MDCTs and the use of computer technology in MDCT testing are promising directions to explore in the interest of increasing MDCT reliability.

- (3) Example 3
Jack was just introduced to Jamal by a friend. They're shaking hands.
What would Jack probably say?

1. Nice to meet you.
2. Good to run into you.
3. Happy to find you..
4. Glad to see you..

(Roever, 2006. p. 239)

3.0. INTRODUCTION TO THE CENTER TEST

3.1. General Information and Usage

The *Center Test* comprises a collection of standardized annual exams used by Japanese public and private universities in their admissions process. The exam is privately developed by Japan's National Center for University Admissions, which oversees the development of each yearly system of exams. The *Center Test* system has been in use since 1990, and a number of new exams and modifications to existing exams have been instituted since then. The current *Center Test* system comprises 34 separate subject examinations in six areas of study, including the English Listening Exam in the Foreign Languages category. Each year, several hundred thousand graduating high school seniors and test re-takers participate in the examinations, which are held annually over two days in January at various test-taking centers across the country. The examination fee is 12,000 yen (approximately \$100) for up to 2 individual exams and 18,000 yen (approximately \$150) for any number of exams taken beyond the first 2.

Although the exact number of universities using the *Center Test* to make admissions decisions varies each year, the most recent exam (2007) was used by approximately 600 public, private, and two-year universities. Students generally sit for several exams (3–4 on average), selected based on requirements set by the universities to which they are applying as well as their academic majors. Individual universities do not

interpret students' *Center Test* scores in the same manner, and the *Center Test*'s role in admissions processes can be divided into three general categories: (1) use as the sole determiner of admission, (b) use in combination with additional assessment factors specific to each university to determine admission, and (c) use as a general qualifier to participate in a secondary university examination that will be used alone to determine admission.

3.2. Test Statistics for the English Listening *Center Test*

The English Listening exam was first formally administered in 2006 and to date is the only listening exam in the Foreign Language subcategory of the *Center Test*. Based on statistics from 2006 and 2007, the English Listening exam was the second most-taken exam of the 34 exams with 492,555 test-takers in 2006 and 497,530 in 2007. The most-taken exam in the *Center Test* was the English written test, with 503,823 test-takers. In 2006, the average score on the Listening Exam (72.50%) was the fourth highest of the 34 *Center Tests* that year, behind Chinese, Korean, German, and Physics I. In 2007, the average score dropped to 64.94%, the ninth highest score of the exams that year. The *Center Test* statistics are available publicly on the *Daigaku Nyushi Center* homepage (<http://www.dnc.ac.jp/index.htm>).

3.3. Limitations of Current Research into the *Center Test*

The *Center Test* and the *Daigaku Nyushi Center* have confidentiality issues that have implications for the availability of information for researchers. The *Daigaku Nyushi Center* is a private corporation with a government contract to create and administer the *Center Test* to secondary school seniors in Japan on a yearly basis. With ownership and control of a profitable exam in what could be considered a competitive market, the *Daigaku Nyushi Center* has a vested interest in maintaining the confidentiality of their exam data and maintaining authority over any outside performance evaluations of the exam. Although the *Daigaku Nyushi Center* does track detailed statistics (e.g., item level statistics), these statistics are not available to the public or to researchers. This privatization aspect of the *Center Test*, which is very likely connected to protecting its marketability, makes it very difficult for outside researchers to conduct quality evaluations of the effectiveness of the exam.

As of yet, no studies have been published on the new *Center Test* in English Listening. In the past, however, the significance of the *Center Test* in English Writing drew the attention of numerous Japanese scholars, much of which was critical (Ito, 2005, p. 5). Unfortunately, very little quality research in English has been done on the *Center Test* (but see Brown & Yamashita, 1995; Ingulsrud, 1994; Ito 2005), thereby limiting the access of non-Japanese scholars. In general, critiques of the exam focus on its high emphasis on grammar, pronunciation, and reading skills of test-takers in contrast with the nationwide goals for English communicative teaching. Such conflicts have already led to "backwash" into classroom curricula.

With the exception of Ito (2005), empirical, quantitative research on the *Center Test* has been lacking. The aims of this study, then, are to provide valuable quantitative item-specific data to reinforce the qualitative observations in the literature thus far and to provide a more concrete foundation for making practical improvements to the exam in the future.

4.0. MDCTs ON THE *CENTER TEST*

The *Center Test* in English listening has four sections, with the second section comprised of MDCT items. Test-takers must complete seven MDCT items, roughly 28% of their final exam score. The remaining sections of the exam are content-based listening items in which the test-takers listen to short dialogues, lectures, or narrations and complete multiple-choice questions based on the listening passage. The seven MDCT items are the only test items requiring test-takers to make judgments of the appropriateness of dialogues in language situations. The remainder of this section of the paper is devoted to a detailed overview of MDCT items as they appear on the *Center Test*.

The basic format of the MDCT items on the *Center Test* is shown below in Example 4. Test-takers first listen to a short dialogue between two speakers and then read four accompanying lines of dialogue on their test forms. To answer an item, test-takers must select the line that most appropriately continues the dialogue. A conversation turn is assumed to take place between the listening passage and the multiple-choice response. In other words, the next speaker is always assumed to not be the one that was heard last in the dialogue.

- (4) Example 4 (MDCT on the *Center Test*)
Test-takers hear:

W: What did you do over the weekend?
 M: Oh, I started reading a really good book.

Test-takers see:

1. Really? What's it about?
2. Really? Why don't you like it?
3. Sure, I'll lend it to you when I'm done.
4. Sure, I'll return it to you later.

(from *Daigaku Nyushi Center Shiken*, 2007)

Quickly apparent in this prompt is the lack of information about setting, situation, and speaker roles. This lack is unusual considering that detailed situational descriptions are a common component of most MDCT models under investigation in current language assessment research (Hudson et al., 1995; Jianda, 2007; Tada, 2005). Context-specific information relevant to each MDCT item is not provided to the test-taker as a functional component of the item. As shown above, the situation, a conversation about one of the speakers reading a good book, is only apparent as information encoded within the prompt dialogue itself. Who is speaking, where the conversation is taking place, and the ultimate intent of either speaker is not made known to the test-taker.

MDCT items on the *Center Test* do not appear to be based on the three major speech acts: apologies, requests, and refusals. Rather, the items appear to be based on common conversational topics that appear in English communication textbooks used in Japanese high schools. Such a design practice allows for an unlimited number of possible conversation situations to be written as test items and was presumably done to ensure high content validity of the items for the target test population. A few of the simpler items that appear on the *Center Test* resemble items from Roever (2005; Example 3), but most items on the *Center Test* are more complex language tasks than what can be considered language routines.

MDCT items on the *Center Test* do not have answer choices based on a variety of pragmatic strategies for a singular speech function, as has been the case with MDCTs in the literature. On the *Center Test*, the four answer choices are based on four entirely different speech functions. In other words, as in Example 4, the four answer choices are not based on four different ways to ask what the book the woman read was about, but are four completely different statements, only one of which is correct. Distractors are identified based on how they conflict with information in the prompt or demonstrate a lack of context appropriateness. Although these MDCT items were not implicitly designed for assessing knowledge of pragmatic strategies per se, a pragmatic effect can still impact test performance. The potential pragmatic effect lies in the fact that test-takers must still agree with the acceptableness of the key to correctly answer an item. If a key is not written with pragmatic strategies that test-takers agree with, regardless of its correctness compared to distractors, test-takers may be less willing to select it. For example, past research indicates that Japanese EFL learners prefer indirect speech strategies when completing MDCTs (Rose, 1994, 1995). Given that Japanese EFL learners might not identify with language styles that are direct, MDCT items using direct language in keys could be more difficult for Japanese EFL learners to answer correctly.

Another aspect of pragmatics that has ramifications for MDCT items is the ability to comprehend implicit language, or implicature. Research indicates that Japanese EFL learners perform worse on tasks involving comprehension of implicit meaning in their L2 than on conventional comprehension tasks (Taguchi, 2005). Comprehension of implicit meaning is encoded into this type of MDCT item in the form of implicature-type distractors, or distractors that can only be eliminated if the test-taker understands implicit language in the prompt. The presence of these implicature-type distractors could make an MDCT exam much more difficult for Japanese EFL learners than intended.

5.0. MOTIVATIONS FOR THE STUDY AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Although the MDCT items on the *Center Test* are different in design from MDCTs in experimental research, they may still measure pragmatic abilities of test-takers, including agreement with direct language

strategies and comprehension of implicature. Given the spreading popularity of MDCTs in general skills Japanese language assessment, this study sets out to provide evidence for the effect of these two pragmatic factors on MDCT exam difficulty. Evidence of a pragmatics effect would bring into question the use of MDCTs to measure general language skills, such as English listening.

The following two research questions are addressed in this paper:

- What is the effect of directness of answer choice on MDCT item difficulty and reliability when administered to Japanese EFL learners?
- What is the effect of including implicature-type distractors on MDCT item difficulty and reliability when administered to Japanese EFL learners?

6.0. METHOD

6.1. Participants

Twenty-six Japanese university students participated in this study. The students were first- and second-year undergraduates enrolled at a well-known private Japanese university. They were members of a group of students enrolled in a one-month study abroad program at a North American university in the spring of 2008.

6.2. Materials

An English listening exam composed of MDCT items similar to those appearing on Japan's *Center Test* in English Listening was used in this study. The test contains 42 MDCT items organized into four categories based on the two variables hypothesized to affect item difficulty for JEFL learners: the directness of the key and the comprehension of implicit meaning. The listening prompts for each of the items were those used in authentic items appearing on the pilot, 2006, and 2007 versions of Japan's *Center Test* supplemented with original prompts developed by the researcher to create an exam with enough items for reliable statistical analysis. A total of 13 authentic listening prompts were used, supplemented with 29 items containing original prompts developed by the researcher to mimic the style, context, and difficulty level of those appearing on the *Center Test*.

6.3. Writing the Items

A careful review of the pilot, 2006, and 2007 versions of the *Center Test* showed that much of the content and context of MDCT dialogue situations is based on material commonly used in English communication textbooks used in Japanese high school classrooms. For example, the 2007 exam consisted of the following seven language situations:

Item #	Language Situation
1	Talking about weekend activities
2	Talking about transportation to school
3	Asking someone to deliver a message
4	Asking about car repair costs
5	Talking about a favorite restaurant
6	Talking about the health of a pet
7	Talking about vacation plans

With the exception of item 4, the language situations conform closely to dialogues that Japanese high school students would be familiar with from their classroom materials. Based on these preliminary findings, it was decided to use textbooks used in high school English communication classes as a guide for creating the additional 29 items needed for the test instrument. Five textbooks approved for use in high school classrooms

by Japan's Ministry of Education were consulted during the developing and writing of the test instrument to match the style, context, and difficulty level of the *Center Test*.

6.3.1. Measuring the effect of affinity for directness on test performance

The test instrument was designed to quantitatively assess the effect of pragmatics on test-taker performance on the MDCTs. Following past research, affinity for the pragmatic behavior of directness was selected as a key variable for investigating the pragmatic sensitivities of Japanese learners of English. The test items were divided into two categories based on the level of directness of the item's answer key, a constructed variable for this study called the *indirectness factor*. The *indirectness factor* was assigned one of two values (+ or -). The values and their labels are described in detail below:

Indirectness Factor (+)

The answer choices of positive *indirectness factor* items were designed to present a high level of acceptability to Japanese EFL students based on current literature on pragmatic behavior. These choices use strategies of indirectness, apology, excuse, and expressions of regret.

Indirectness Factor (-)

The answer choices of negative *indirectness factor* items were designed to present a low level of acceptability to Japanese EFL students based on current literature on pragmatic behavior. These choices use strategies of directness and clearly lack the use of apology, excuse, and expressions of regret, even in situations where they are applicable.

A significant difference in overall test performance between items with and without the *indirectness factor* was hypothesized. In other words, if pragmatic behavior has an effect on performance, then *indirectness factor* (+) items would be significantly easier for test-takers than *indirectness factor* (-) items. That is, Japanese EFL students were anticipated to more easily identify correct answers that use indirect and passive strategies than correct answers that use direct and aggressive strategies.

6.3.2. Measuring the effect of comprehension of implicature on test performance

The test instrument was also designed to measure the relative difficulty of items requiring test-takers to comprehend implicit meaning in a listening sample. Test items were divided into two categories based on the presence or absence of a distractor that required for its elimination the test-taker to correctly perceive implicit information from the dialogue, defined as the *implicature factor* in this study. Even in items with the *implicature factor*, implicature-type distractors were limited to one distractor position. This was done for two reasons: first, to avoid items that might pose too difficult a challenge for students to complete given time constraints, and second, given the difficulty of writing quality implicature-type distractors, coming up with more than one credible implicature-type distractor per MDCT item was nearly impossible. Similarly to the *indirectness factor*, (+) and (-) values have been assigned based on whether the items have at least one implicature-type distractor. The two categories are described in detail below:

Implicature Factor (+)

Test-takers must infer information from the dialogue on the basis of implicit meaning and apply this information to eliminate distractors and select the correct answer. Understanding implicit meaning may include inferring important information concerning the relationship of speakers, speaker opinion/stance, or the location or context of the dialogue, which are not directly stated in the dialogue.

Implicature Factor (-)

Test-takers do not have to infer information from the dialogue or perceive implicit meaning to eliminate distractors and select the correct answer. Test-takers can select the correct answer on the basis of their comprehension of the dialogue and the answer choices.

An overview of the item groups in the test instrument is shown in Table 1. The two categories that measure each variable (*indirectness factor* +/-, *implicature factor* +/-) overlap to create four distinct item categories. The items belonging to each category were divided into four subtests (A, B, C, & D), with 9 items sharing identical values for both factors in each. A fifth category contains 6 items that appear exactly as they do on the 2006 and 2007 *Center Tests* (prompts & answer choices), and these items act as controls that link the

items developed for this study with those on the *Center Test*. Where these items fall in terms of item difficulty during test analysis gives some indication of how the difficulty of the test instrument compares to that of the *Center Test*.

Table 1: Schematic of Items on the Test Instrument

# of items	Subtest	Distractor classes (3)		Answer class (1)	
		#	Type	Implicature factor	Indirectness factor
9	Subtest A	1	Fact	+	+
		2	Order		
		3	Implicature		
9	Subtest B	1	Fact	-	+
		2	Order		
		3	Fact		
9	Subtest C	1	Fact	+	-
		2	Order		
		3	Implicature		
9	Subtest D	1	Fact	-	-
		2	Order		
		3	Fact		
6	Linking items	Unchanged from <i>Center Test</i>			Unchanged from <i>Center Test</i>

6.4. Data Collection

The test was administered to the 26 participants in the last week of their four-week study abroad program. The test conditions reflected the standard testing procedure. The participants first heard a set of instructions in Japanese, followed by recordings of the 42 dialogues. The voice actors for the dialogues were high proficiency Japanese speakers of English with native or near-native-like pronunciation. Each dialogue was read twice, and the participants had 12-s pauses between readings to record their answers on the test forms. The total time for the test was approximately 30 minutes. At the end of the recording, the test forms were collected. The participants were not given additional time to review their answers after the recording finished.

7.0. RESULTS

7.1. Descriptive Statistics: Analyzing the Means and Variances of the Four Subtests

Descriptive statistics served as a useful starting point for investigating the differences in performance among the four subtests. The mean scores on subtests A and B are noticeably higher than those on subtests C and D (Table 2). These results suggest that the level of directness of the answer choice has an effect on MDCT item difficulty. Conversely, the scores on subtests A and C and subtests B and D show very little difference. This lack of difference, in turn, suggests that the presence of an implicature-type distractor does not have an effect on MDCT item difficulty. The score distribution was relatively similar across subtests A, B, and C, with a noticeably higher standard deviation of scores on subtest D. This suggests that subtest D might have presented the most varied level of challenge of the four subtests. The significance of the differences in mean scores for the four subtests was computed using a one-way repeated measures ANOVA (SPSS version 16.0). The ANOVA results confirmed a significant difference in the scores at alpha level ($p = .05$), and a post-hoc analysis indicated that the difference was attributable to the directness factor and not the implicature factor.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Complete Exam and Subtests

	Subtest				Overall
	A	B	C	D	
n	26.00	26.00	26.00	26.00	26.00
k	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	36.00
M	7.15	7.39	5.77	5.35	25.65
SD	1.31	1.55	1.51	2.35	5.43
Range	6.00	7.00	7.00	9.00	20.00
Median	7.00	8.00	5.00	5.55	26.50
Minimum	4.00	3.00	3.00	1.00	16.00
Maximum	9.00	9.00	9.00	9.00	35.00

7.2. FACETS Analysis of Performance Between Subtests

FACETS analysis, or multifaceted Rasch, provides another method of investigating the score variation due to the *indirectness factor* and *implicature factor* in the data. While classical testing theory can demonstrate that participants scored significantly higher on subtests A and B than they did on subtests C and D, FACETS allows a simultaneous analysis of item difficulty, test-taker ability, and subtest type, all on the same scale. Furthermore, the *indirectness factor* and *implicature factor* can be input as item facets instead of properties of categorical subtests, allowing a comparison of each of the factors across the 36-item exam (the 6 linking items were not included in this part of the analysis because they do not have either factor designed into them).

The FACETS output comes in the form of a vertical ruler, as shown in Figure 1. The ruler is on a logit scale, where a logit score is a direct representation of difficulty. A higher logit score indicates higher exam difficulty, and a lower logit score indicates lower exam difficulty. The FACETS analysis indicated that the *indirectness factor* had a considerable effect on item difficulty. Items with the *directness factor* had an average logit score of .55, while items without the factor had an average logit score of -.55, a difference of 1. Conversely, the *implicature factor* did not have an effect on item difficulty. Items with the *implicature factor* had an average logit score of -.03, while items without the factor had an average logit score of .03, a difference of only .06. These results mirror the results in the classical analysis described in Section 7.1.

8.0. CONCLUSION

As shown in the study, MDCT items are and will continue to be very difficult test items to understand and use effectively in language testing. However, this study has shed light on the behavior of the some types of items and can guide future research into informed design of reliable, valid, and fair MDCT language tests in the Japanese EFL context.

Based on this initial study, the following observations and conclusions can be made. The level of directness of the answer key is one pragmatic factor that affects item difficulty for Japanese EFL learners. This finding means that the *indirectness factor* can be applied in item design to make items more appropriate for higher-level learners. However, the same finding also means that MDCT items, depending on how they are written, can be made inappropriately difficult for learners at lower levels. For both scenarios, aspects of pragmatics, particularly directness, must be an important consideration in designing and using MDCT tests in Japanese EFL language assessment. This finding not only has implications for who is qualified to design such tests (perhaps individuals knowledgeable in interlanguage pragmatics) but also for how MDCT items should be designed. This study found that implicature-type distractors did not appear to affect item difficulty for Japanese EFL learners, but note that operationalizing implicature into a multiple MDCT exam (i.e., designing situations of implicature that vary in context, but are equal in difficulty) was an unanticipated difficulty of the study. Solving this problem is definitely a consideration for future research on this topic.

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CATEGORIZING L2 LEARNERS' PROBLEMS WITH ACQUIRING COLLOCATIONAL COMPETENCE

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports on an empirical study of ESL learners' performance on Verb + Noun collocations using a fill-in-the-blank test and native speakers' reactions to nonnative collocations. Results show that there are five main types of problems with L2 collocations: (1) paraphrasing with a semantically related word, (2) inappropriate use of light verbs, (3) L1 transfer, (4) blending two collocations, and (5) using morphological synonymy of nouns. The findings of this study highlight the importance of improving ESL/EFL learners' collocational knowledge to enhance their proficiency in the target language.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Collocations are two or more words that tend to occur together (Lewis, 2000). For example, the English word *beige* may modify the noun *car* but not *hair*, for example, *she has a beige car* vs. **she has beige hair*, and the word *blond* modifies *hair* but not *car*, for example, *she has blond hair* vs. *she has a blond car*. The unacceptability of the expressions **beige hair* and **a blond car* cannot be explained with reference to a traditional generative grammar. Pawley and Syder (1983) point out that only a small proportion of the total set of so-called grammatical sentences is nativelike—in the sense of being readily acceptable to native speakers as ordinary, natural forms of expression, in contrast to being grammatical but unidiomatic or odd foreignisms. Pawley and Syder also claim that full control of a language must entail knowledge of something more than a generative grammar. The additional knowledge that underlies nativelike language abilities is what they refer to as *memorized sentences* and *lexicalized sentence stems*. Memorized clauses and the stock of prefabricated units enable native speakers to select appropriate forms of expression from a smallish range of grammatically acceptable alternatives and to produce fluent speech or writing without apparent planning, effort, or hesitation. Krashen and Scarcella (1978) claim that formulaic language is a means of outperforming competence but does not serve as a primary role in language acquisition and performance. Wong-Fillmore (1979) and Pawley and Syder (1983), however, and more recently Nattinger and DeCarrico (1992) state that linguistic behavior is ritualized to a large extent and that routines as memorized stretches do indeed form a high proportion of the fluent stretches of adult native speakers' everyday conversation.

Native speakers develop an unconscious sense of the appropriateness of collocations through repeated exposure. In contrast, second language learners have much more limited experience and their attempts at collocations may be perceived as non-nativelike, unidiomatic or unintentionally amusing, often leading to communication disruptions. Because of the need for extensive exposure, the acquisition of collocations is one of the most difficult aspects of second language learning. Even advanced non-native speakers who have lived in English-speaking countries for many years and use English as their primary means of communication generally do not achieve native-like collocational competence.

At least six sources of difficulty have been suggested for L2 collocation acquisition in the existing literature. The first issue is that L2 learners are often not aware of importance of collocations in learning a foreign language (Pawley & Syder, 1983). Bahns and Eldaw (1990) conducted an experiment consisting of a translation task and a gap-filling task with advanced learners of English with German as a native language. Their findings suggest that adult L2 learners rely heavily on holistic processing in early stages when formulaic sequences predominate, such as *Good morning*, *How are you?* and *Thank you*. When language learners outstrip the limitations of such fixed forms, however, they rely on individual words rather than on formulaic sequences as long units for building up phrases and sentences. This acquisition process is somewhat different from first language acquisition where children first memorize a large amount of prefabricated language holophrastically, which they later analyze into smaller pieces by the process of segmentation as their grammatical competence develops (Hakuta, 1974; Peters, 1983, Wong-Fillmore, 1979; Wray, 2002).

The second issue, transfer from a learner's L1, is also one of the common factors that causes language development difficulties. Gabry-Biskup (1992) examined L1 influences of Polish and German learners of English. Polish interference errors included **to state a record [set]* and German errors included **to lead a bookshop [run]*. The learners translated word-for-word from their L1. Granger (1998), however, argues that the learners' L1 can affect learning collocations either positively or negatively. She found evidence of successful collocational transfer from L1. For example, French learners of English produced *severely punished*, which corresponds to French: *sévèrement puni*. Irujo (1986) also found evidence of positive transfer for German learners of English in learning idiomatic expressions and claimed that it is unnecessary to teach idiomatic expressions if literal translation equivalents exist in the learners' native language.

Third, a very common difficulty is mixing up overlapping collocational restrictions. In a judgment task, non-native speakers accepted a greater number of types of adverb-adjective combinations than did natives (Granger, 1998). She claimed that learners' sense of salience is not only weak but partly misguided. Benson (1985) pointed out that the difficulty with overlapping restrictions is partly due to the unpredictability of collocations. Yorio (1989) found errors in the use of collocations by a group of advanced ESL students, such as *take advantages of; are to be blamed for; those mention above; being taking care of; a friend of her; make a great job; on the meanwhile; with my own experience; put more attention to*. Wray suggests that these errors are the consequence of incorrect perception at the stage of memorization or incorrect editing during production because of insufficient grammatical ability. Mixing up overlapping collocational restriction of semantically similar words may be due to analogical errors (e.g. *give vs. make; give a reaction, give a comment, give a response, and make a comment, make a response, but not *make a reaction*) (Howarth, 1998). Learning overlapping restrictions is one of the major challenges for L2 learners.

Fourth, blending is not very common but is one of the factors that may lead collocational errors. Howarth (1998) observed blending errors among restricted collocations such as **pay care*, created by blending *pay attention* and *take care*. But Dechert and Lennon (1989) concluded that blendings happen because the learners' attention is focused on syntactic structure rather than procedural automaticity; Dechert and Lennon further comment that blending can be a sign of competence rather than of its absence because one can only produce blends of collocations that are already known. According to their analysis, for example, an advanced learner who produced **He has got financially broke* means that he or she has heard both *he is broke* and *he has got into financial difficulties*. In contrast, Peters (1983) analyzed so-called crossed collocation errors and argues that blendings can provide evidence of formulaic processing. For example, an L2 learner produced the utterance *He was breathing down my shoulder* by mixing *He was breathing down my neck* and *He was looking over my shoulder* (Peters, 1983, p.106). Peters explains that, in this example, *breathing down my neck* and *looking over my shoulder* are subject to the same sort of retrieval error as single words; thus, these phrases might sometimes be stored and retrieved much as single words are.

Fifth, phonological similarity may also lead to errors in collocations. For example, a learner may produce the erroneous form *the general Synod took the monumental decision* because of the phonological similarity between the word *monumental* and *momentous* (Howarth, 1998).

Sixth and lastly, learners' use of collocations may reflect not only the structural aspects of language, but also other aspects, including instructional settings and socio-cultural and psychological issues. Gabry-Biskup (1992) collected data on formulaic language use from Polish and German learners of English and found that Polish students were less inclined to answer than German students and less likely to produce collocations. He explained that this is because of the difference in instructional settings between these two countries: Germans pay more attention to fluency and communication while the Polish educational system insists on accuracy. Similarly, Wray (2002) suggested a link between the use of formulae and learners' psychological factors, such as motivation as well as need and desire to interact with speakers of the target language. She found that these factors taken together correlate with the overall achievement of communicative competence. Schmidt's (1983) participant Wes, a highly motivated 33-year-old Japanese immigrant to Hawaii, achieved a high level of fluency and used many formulaic sequences. On the other hand, Schumann's (1978) participant and Shapira's (1978) Guatemalan participant, who each maintained a social and psychological distance from the new language, used fewer formulaic sequences and achieved less success in overall learning. L2 learners who strive to be accepted as members of the target language community are more motivated in learning, interact more with native speakers, receive more input and feedback, and have more opportunity for output.

As noted above, issues that affect L2 collocation acquisition include both linguistic and nonlinguistic factors. L2 learners are not aware of the importance of formulaic language and use individual words rather than chunks as units to build up phrases and sentences. As a result, L2 learners often produce expressions that sound odd to native speakers and/or are unable to retain fluency in speaking. L2 learners have difficulty acquiring collocational competence for various reasons, such as L1 transfer, over- and under-extension of collocational restrictions, analogy, blending, phonological similarity with other words, and so forth. In the present study, I aim to formulate a rudimentary categorization of L2 learners' issues in acquiring Verb + Noun collocations. I first state my research questions and predictions, then describe my experimental method followed by results and discussion. The paper concludes with some reflections on the current state of the study of second language collocations as well as implications for further study and for language pedagogy in general.

2.0. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND PREDICTIONS

The current study employs an experimental design to explore a rudimentary categorization of L2 learners' issues in acquiring Verb+Noun collocations. The following three research questions form the basis for the experiment:

- Research Question 1: What kind of errors do L2 learners make? Do they make errors because of L1 transfer? Do they use such strategies as translating word-for-word from L1, paraphrasing, avoidance, etc?
- Research Question 2: Does learners' performance in lexical collocations correlate with their general proficiency (e.g., TOEFL scores) in English?
- Research Question 3: How well is the intended semantic content conveyed when L2 learners produce erroneous collocations?

Based on findings in the literature, my prediction for Research Question 1 is that L2 learners will produce both intra-lingual and inter-lingual errors. They may translate word-for-word from L1 into L2, have difficulty distinguishing words which have similar meanings, lack sufficient knowledge about collocational restrictions, and/or have difficulty with light verbs that carry relatively small semantic content. With respect to Research Question 2, I predict that learners with greater L2 proficiency will demonstrate a broader knowledge of collocations. Performance will improve along with proficiency. Finally, my prediction for Research Question 3 is that L2 learners' collocational errors will not successfully convey the intended meaning.

3.0. METHOD

3.1. Participants

The participants in this study were thirty-two Japanese learners of English, including graduate and undergraduate students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and students studying English in the Hawai'i English Language Program (HELP) or the New Intensive Course in English (NICE) program. Nonnative speakers were divided into two proficiency groups based on their TOEFL scores: the low-intermediate group had TOEFL scores lower than 550, while the advanced group had TOEFL score of 575 or higher. Twenty-five learners (6 males and 19 females) were in the low-intermediate group and seven learners (2 males and 5 females) were in the advanced group. The mean number of years of residence in English-speaking countries was one year and six months in the low-intermediate group and nine years and six months in the advanced group.

3.2. Materials and Procedure

Forty Verb+Noun collocations were selected from Kizuka's (1995) *A Compact Dictionary of Verb-Noun Collocations*. All the collocations were either restricted or fixed. That is, in the chosen examples, the given NP can occur with only a limited number of verbs for the Verb+Noun phrase to convey the same semantic content. For example, the NP *your best* occurs with *try* and *do* (i.e., *try your best* and *do your best*) to refer to similar semantic content, but the same phrase *your best* does not occur with other verbs such as *make*, *get*, or *accomplish* (i.e., **make your best*, **get your best*, **accomplish your best*). None of the collocations had literal Japanese equivalents. The materials used in the experiment are attached in the appendix.

The task in this study was a fill-in-the-blank test that required participants to insert 40 collocations in sentences of semantically natural context where the verb of the V + NP collocation had been replaced with a blank. The participants were instructed to fill in the missing words without using a dictionary or any other ESL materials. Participants were allowed unlimited time to finish the test, and all participants completed the test in fifteen to twenty minutes.

The collocations produced by the L2 learners were graded by 10 native speakers of English using a 5-point Likert scale for each of two aspects: (1) *Grammaticality Judgment* meaning whether or not native speakers of English would produce the same collocation in the same context; and (2) *Meaning Conveyed*, or how well the intended meaning was conveyed. The collocations which were rated as 4.5 or higher in both aspects were regarded as native-like. L2 learners, particularly beginning learners, committed occasional mistakes in verb-inflection, such as dropping the third-person-singular *-s* and overgeneralizing the past-tense morpheme *-ed*, for example, *speaked*. Such errors were ignored since the focus of this study was to analyze the learners' choice of words in producing the selected V + NP collocations rather than small inflectional errors in verb morphology.

4.0. RESULTS

A total of 1195 collocations were collected, with low-intermediate learners producing 915 collocations and advanced learners producing 280 collocations. Within the different learner groups, low-intermediate learners' production was judged to be native-like in 35.0% of the responses and advanced learners' production was judged to be native-like for 71.8% of the collocations. This difference was statistically significant (chi-square = 116.212*; df = 1; $p < .05$). In closer analysis, the following six error types were identified: (1) paraphrasing, (2) misuse of light verbs, (3) L1 transfer, (4) use of words other than verbs, (5) mixing collocations, and (6) synonymy of nouns. Table 1 and Figure 1 summarize the types and percentages of collocations errors produced by L2 learners.

Table 1: Types of L2 Collocations

	Paraphrasing	Misuse of light verbs	L1 transfer	Other than verbs	Mixing collocations	Synonymy of nouns	TOTAL
Low-intermediate	262 (33.03%)	219 (36.81%)	45 (7.56%)	46 (7.73%)	19 (3.19%)	4 (0.67%)	595
Advanced	45 (56.96%)	30 (37.97%)	2 (2.53%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (1.27%)	1 (1.27%)	79
$p > .05$	*4.193	0.006	2.001	*5.396	0.014	0.354	*38.078

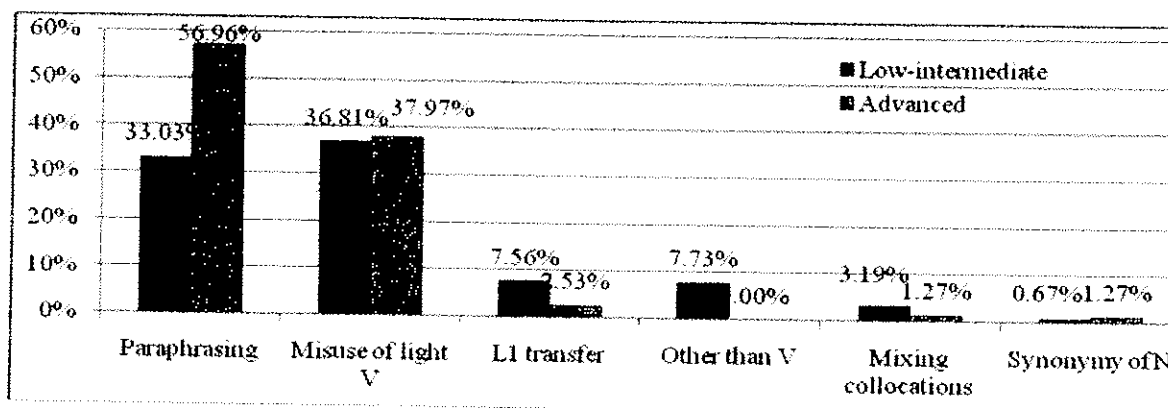


Figure 1: Types of L2 Collocations

Table 1 shows that paraphrasing and misuse of light verbs were the most frequent collocational errors committed by L2 learners. The advanced learners produced significantly higher percentages of paraphrasing

than low-intermediate learners, while low-intermediate learners used significantly higher percentages of words other than verbs as compared with the advanced learner group. Examples of each error type are provided below:

Paraphrasing: One of most common strategies among low-intermediate learners was paraphrasing. L2 learners used semantically related verbs, such as *if it matches/ fits your convenience* and *it means no difference to me*, or used verbs whose meaning roughly carried the meaning of the whole target collocation, for example *please watch/ look an eye on children* and *Donna suicided her life*. There were a few instances in which L2 learners made up creative expressions, such as *'Mary's sweater froze my eyes* and *Maria killed her voice*. Some of the paraphrases were not very successful in achieving the intended meaning, including *please lose an eye on the children* and *Maria taught her voice to tell me the secret*. Below follow more examples of paraphrases:

- (1) a. I lost the last train and had to go home by taxi. (Target = *missed the last train*)
- b. Mail me a line when you have time. (*drop me a line*)
- c. You can judge a man's character by the company he contacts. (*by the company he keeps*)
- d. Please copy this photo right away. (*develop this photo*)

Misuse of Light Verbs: L2 learners also often misused light verbs, extremely highly frequency verbs (e.g., *take, make, do, be, get* and *have*) that freely combine with a variety of nouns. In using these high frequency verbs, L2 learners tried to make their collocations sound like native-like expressions, although their attempts were not always successful.

- (2) a. I hope your efforts will be / get / make fruit. (*bear fruit*)
- b. The former champion did / got / had / took an attempt to come back after a year's retirement but failed. (*made an attempt*)
- c. You sometimes have to do / have / make a risk to succeed in an undertaking. (*take a risk*)
- d. It has no difference to me whether you go to the movie or study at home. (*makes no difference*)

L1 Transfer: L2 learners also produced inter-lingual errors in the form of collocations that were based on literal translations of Japanese collocations involving verbs with the same or similar meanings. Most of the collocations with L1 transfer did not receive high scores on either *Grammaticality* or *Meaning Conveyed*. In particular, collocations that were translated from Japanese figurative expressions, for example *me-ni tomaru* (literally *to stop one's eyes* which means *to catch one's eyes*) and *iki-o korosu* (literally *to kill one's breath* which means *to hold one's breath*) were nearly unintelligible to native speakers. Here are more examples:

- (3) a. She met an accident on her way home from school. (*had an accident*)
- b. All the students sent Prof. Sumitomo a big hand when his final lecture ended. (*gave a big hand*)
- c. The child saw a nightmare and cried. (*had a nightmare*)
- d. Please foam the eggs. (*beat the eggs*)

Use of Words other than Verbs: Low-intermediated learners sometimes used grammatical words other than verbs. The low-intermediate learners most commonly used prepositions but also used adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, and auxiliary verbs.

- (4) a. I often up a kite when I was a child. (*flew a kite*)
 b. To fair her justice, Julie is a better cook than Helen. (*To do her justice*)
 c. Shall we down the carpet here? (*lay the carpet*)
 d. I'll come to your place if it whenever your convenience. (*meets your convenience*)

Mixing with Other Collocations: There were a few collocations in which L2 learners mixed the target collocation with another collocation, typically with a collocation that shared one or more common words with the target collocation and had a similar meaning.

- (5) a. May I help a favor of you? ('*May I help you?*' + '*May I ask a favor of you?*')
 b. May I do a favor of you? ('*Would you do me a favor?*' + '*May I ask a favor of you?*')
 c. Donna committed her life when she was 20 years old. ('*commit suicide*' + '*take her life*')
 d. None your own business. ('*None of your business*' + '*Mind your own business*')

Synonymy of Nouns: There were a few instances in which L2 learners produced morphological synonymy of nouns; learners used words derived from the same nominal or verbal root. Most of the collocations of this type were rejected by native speakers in both *Grammaticality* and *Meaning Conveyed* ratings.

- (6) a. We need to gather more information before we act action. (*take action*)
 b. The fish negotiations progressed rapid progress last week. (*made rapid progress*)
 c. To judge her justice, Julie is a better cook than Helen. (*To do her justice*)
 d. You can judge a man's company by the company he accompanies. (*by the company he keeps*)

As shown above in Table 1 and Figure 1, paraphrasing and misuse of light verbs were the most frequent strategies employed by L2 learners. Together, these two types of errors constituted 82.49% of the total errors committed by L2 learners. Since paraphrasing and misuse of light verbs are the most commonly used strategies, I further examined native speakers' reactions to these types of erroneous forms.

Figures 2 and 3 display the percentages of different native speaker ratings for *Grammaticality* and *Meaning Conveyed* for learners' paraphrased collocations, separated by language proficiency grouping. Native speakers rated on a 5-point-scale; 5 = highest (native-like), 1 = lowest (not acceptable). In this analysis, I examined only non-native-like collocations, where collocations rated at 4.5 or higher in both aspects were considered native-like and excluded from further analysis.

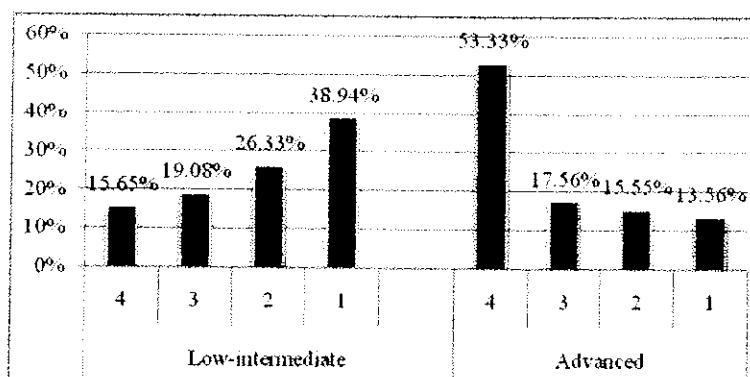


Figure 2: Grammaticality Judgment ratings for paraphrased collocations (score < 4.5)

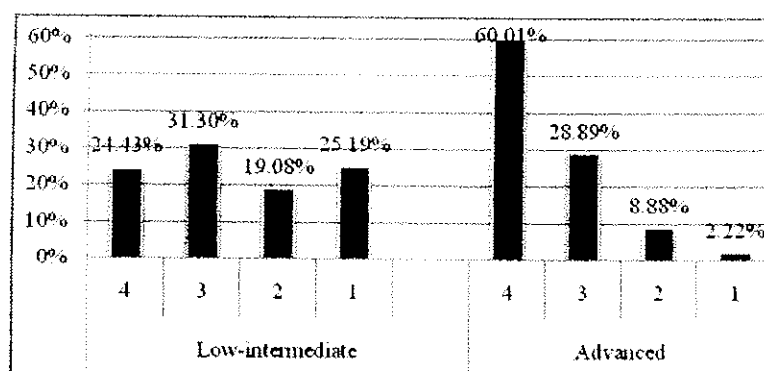


Figure 3: Meaning Conveyed ratings for paraphrased collocations (score < 4.5)

As illustrated in Figures 2 and 3, advanced learners' paraphrases attained much higher scores for both *Grammaticality Judgment* and *Meaning Conveyed* than low-intermediate learners (mean grammaticality scores: advanced = 3.24; low-intermediate = 2.54, , and mean scores for meaning: advanced = 3.83; low-intermediate = 2.89). These differences were statistically significant (*Grammaticality Judgment*: chi-square = 32.677, $df = 1$, $p < .000$, *Meaning Conveyed*: chi-square = 29.124, $df = 1$, $p < .000$). Low-intermediate learners' paraphrases were often judged as unnatural and did not convey the intended meaning while advanced learners' paraphrases were regarded as more native-like and conveyed the intended semantic content more successfully.

Figures 4 and 5 show the percentage scores for *Grammaticality* and *Meaning Conveyed* when light verbs were misused by low-intermediate and advanced learners.

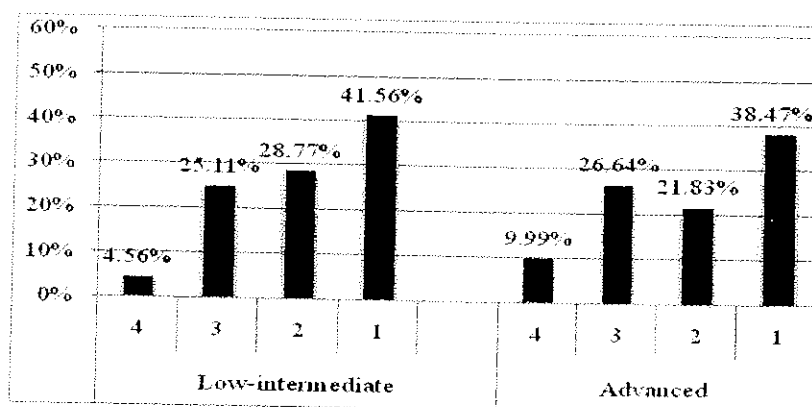


Figure 4: Grammatical Judgments of Collocations with Misused Light Verbs

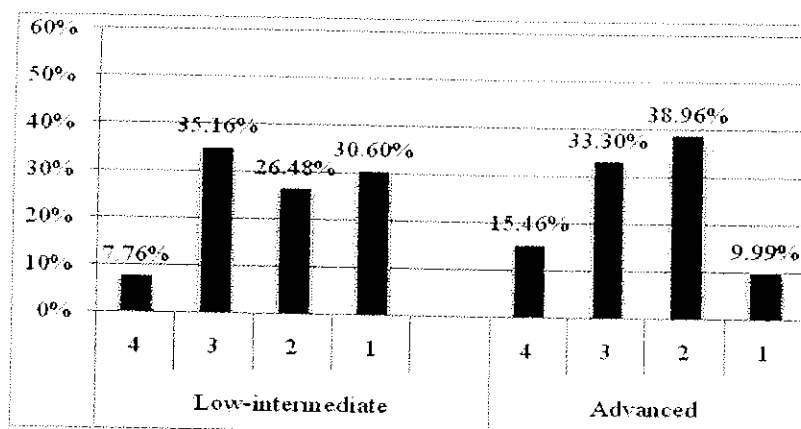


Figure 5: Misuses of Light Verbs. Meaning Conveyed

Here, the results differ from the analysis of learners' paraphrased collocations. In Figures 2 and 3, advanced learners' paraphrasing was mostly successful while low-intermediate learners received low ratings. In contrast, misuse of light verbs in collocations both by advanced and low-intermediate learners was consistently judged as unnatural or non-native-like and as not conveying the intended meaning. The mean grammaticality scores for low-intermediate and advanced learners were 2.31 and 2.71 respectively with no statistical difference between groups. Figure 5 reveals that advanced learners were somewhat more successful in conveying the intended meanings when they misused light verbs but the difference between the two proficiency groupings on conveyed meaning was not statistically significant either (mean scores of *Meaning Conveyed*: low-intermediate = 2.61, advanced = 3.03).

5.0. DISCUSSION

The results of the study showed that L2 learners' performance on V + NP collocations confirmed the initial research hypotheses. *Hypothesis 1* stated that L2 learners will produce various types of intra-lingual and inter-lingual errors. This hypothesis was supported by the six types of errors identified in the data: (1)-(6). *Hypothesis 2* proposed that improved performance should be observed at higher proficiency levels. Findings in the study revealed that 71.79% of advanced learners' collocations were judged as acceptable to native speakers while only 35.04% of low-intermediate learners' collocations were judged as acceptable. Lastly, *Hypothesis 3* posited that many of L2 learners' erroneous collocations would not convey the intended semantic content. Data from the study also supported this claim, particularly for cases of learner collocations with misused light verbs.

This research suggests several areas for further research in learner collocation acquisition. First, as evident in the data, learners use their L1 knowledge in producing collocations. In this experiment, I only tested collocations that did not have literal Japanese equivalents. Thus, positive transfer of L1 knowledge was not

explicitly tested. It is possible that my survey underestimated percentages of L1 transfer. Mohammed (2005) collected essays written by Arabic learners of English and found that sixty-one percent of the learners' collocational errors were due to negative transfer from Arabic. As Bahns's study (1993) reveals, it is worth pursuing both positive and negative L1 transfer. Thus, a possible research topic is to investigate collocations with and without L1 equivalent collocations. It is possible that learners find collocations with L1 equivalents easier than collocations without L1 equivalents.

Second, the frequent use of paraphrasing indicates that learners are not aware that words with similar meanings have different collocational restrictions and can only co-occur in specific combinations. It is necessary to further investigate collocations which involve instruction which could help learners understand overlapping collocational restrictions between words which have similar meanings and correct their mistaken over- or under-extensions.

Third, the high misuse of light verbs suggests that learning appropriate use of light verbs is difficult for learners. The nouns in such collocations as *take a decision*, *have a chat*, *give a scream*, and *make a note*, carry the meaning of the expression of the Verb + Noun collocation, and the verb can be considered semantically bleached. Past research has shown that L2 learners find it difficult to learn grammatical, lexical, or phonological features that do not have single clear meanings. The same may hold true for collocations, particularly those containing light verbs. Light verbs are difficult for language learners because they are extremely frequent although different collocational restrictions apply to the dependent nouns in English and Japanese.

These findings also present implications for language pedagogy. As Marton (1977) stated, mere exposure to the target language is not sufficient for learners, beginner or advanced, to acquire the knowledge of conventional collocations. Marton argued that language teachers should dedicate attention to effective teaching of collocations to guide L2 learners towards a native-like command of the foreign language. Similarly, Willis (1990) proposed that language instructors make collocational patterns salient to help students notice and reflect on them. In addition to focused input, explicit instruction of collocational restrictions may serve as an effective method of minimizing errors in oral and written production.

For example, the verb *take* is used when an object is picked up by hand (e.g., you can *take* something in your hand and have a close look at it), but *take* cannot be used when something is then given to a recipient (e.g., **Will you take me the mustard?*). For Japanese learners of English, the corresponding Japanese verb *toru* (*take*) is appropriate in both contexts. Native speakers of English, however, say *Will you pass me the mustard?* in this context. Such an explanation may prove very effective in helping Japanese learners of English understand overlapping and differing collocational restrictions in English and Japanese. Access to corpus data, such as the COBUILD corpus or the BROWN corpus, would also be beneficial to L2 learners. When writing English compositions, for instance, learners can check the frequency and contexts of particular word combinations and construction to understand the degree to which their own writing matches native-like standards.

6.0. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I examined second language production of Verb + NP collocations by Japanese learners of English. Results revealed that second language learners produced many types of intra- and inter-lingual errors in their collocations and that performance, both in producing more native-like expressions and conveying intended meanings, increased with proficiency. The findings also showed that paraphrases and misuse of light verbs were the most common strategies employed by the learners. As proficiency improved, learners preferred paraphrasing over other possible strategies.

The current study empirically investigated the types of strategies L2 learners employ in producing collocations as well as how L2 learners' collocations are perceived by native speakers. Although this study was limited to Verb + Noun collocations, future work should extend research to other collocational constructions, including Adjective + Noun, Adverb + Verb, Adverb + Adjective, Verb + particle and Verb + Prepositional phrases. Other areas of interest for future work include the effects of instructional settings, cross-linguistic differences in learners' collocations, psychological and socio-cultural issues, and the relationship between collocations and grammar development in a second language. Such research contributes to the field of language

acquisition both for academic professionals and language learners by deepening our understanding of learners' performance and to improving instructional methods.

NOTE

1. I would like to express my gratitude to all the participants in the experiment. I also would like to thank Dr. Craig Chaudron, Dr. Robert Bley-Vroman, and Dr. Yasuko Ito for comments on the design of the experiment. Finally, I am greatly indebted to my adviser, Dr. Ann Peters, for all her patience as well as valuable comments on the previous versions of this paper.

APPENDIX

1. 彼女は学校の帰り道で事故に遭った。
She () an accident on her way home from school.
2. 行動を起こす前にもっと情報を集める必要がある。
We need to gather more information before we () action.
3. 水泳をすれば食欲が出るよ。
Swimming will () your appetite.
4. 前チャンピオンは引退して1年後に再起をはかったが失敗した。
The former champion () an attempt to come back after a year's retirement but failed.
5. 事業に成功しようと思ったら、時には危険を冒さなければならない。
You sometimes have to () a risk to succeed in an undertaking.
6. 目的を達成するために最善を尽くしなさい。
You should () your best to achieve your goal.
7. いらぬお節介をするな。
() your own business.
8. (トランプの) 札を配る番ですよ。
It's your turn to () the cards.
9. ここにじゅうたんを敷きましょうか。
Shall we () the carpet here?
10. 彼女はよく授業をさぼる。
She often () class.
11. 恐ろしい事故現場を見て、彼は青ざめた。
Seeing the horrible scene of the accident, he () color.
12. 付き合っている仲間を見ればその人柄が分かります。
You can judge a man's character by the company he ().
13. 確かにエリザベスは美しいが、シャロンにはかなわない。
True, Elizabeth is beautiful, but she does not () comparison with Sharon.
14. ご都合がよろしければ、あす事務所へうかがいます。
I'll come over to your place if it () your convenience.
15. この単語の意味が分からなければ、辞書で調べなさい。
If you don't know the meaning of this word, () a dictionary.
16. 君が映画に行こうが家で勉強しようが、私にはどうでもよい。
It () no difference to me whether you go to the movies or study at home.
17. 卵を泡立ててください。
Please () the eggs.

18. メアリーの赤いセーターが私の目に留まった。
Mary's red sweater () my eyes.
19. 切符を買ってくるから、その間子どもたちから目を離さないでね。
Please () an eye on the children while I am buying tickets.
20. 「お願いがあるのですが。」「いいですよ、もし私にできることでしたら。」
"May I () a favor of you?" "Yes, if it's anything I can do."
21. どうか見つかりませんようにと念じて、ローズは息を殺していた。
Rose () her breath, hoping that they wouldn't find her.
22. 日本の木造家屋は燃えやすい。
Japanese wooden houses () fire easily.
23. あなたの努力が実を結ぶといいですね。
I hope your efforts will () fruit.
24. 住友教授の最終講義が終ると、学生全員が教授に拍手を送った。
All the students () Professor Sumitomo a big hand when his final lecture ended.
25. 私は昨日パチンコで大当たりした。
I () the jackpot on the pinball machine yesterday.
26. 公平に見て、ヘレンよりジュリーの方が料理上手だ。
To () her justice, Julie is a better cook than Helen.
27. 子どものころ、よくたこ揚げをしました。
I often () a kite when I was a child.
28. フレッドは君にうそをついたに違いない。
Fred must have () you a lie.
29. ドナは20歳のとき自殺した。
Donna () her life when she was 20 years old.
30. 暇なときには便りをくれよ。
() me a line when you have time.
31. お医者さんがくれた薬を飲むのを忘れないようにね。
Don't forget to () medicine the doctor gave you.
32. 子どもは悪い夢を見て泣き叫んだ。
The child () a nightmare and cried.
33. 医者はまず患者の脈を測った。
The doctor first () the patient's pulse.
34. トムがなぜ大学を辞めるのか理由が分かりません。
I () no reason why Tom should quit college.
35. マリアは声をひそめて私に秘密を打ち明けた。
Maria () her voice to tell me the secret.
36. あの恐ろしい経験は言葉では言い表せません。
I cannot () my terrible experience into words.
37. 最終電車に乗り遅れ、タクシーで帰宅せざるを得なかった。
I () the last train and had to go home by taxi.
38. この写真をすぐに現像して下さい。
Please () this photo right away.

39. マイクは絵を描くのが好きです。
Mike likes to () pictures.
40. 漁業交渉は先週急速に進展した。
The fish negotiations () rapid progress last week.

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II. Literature

TRAINING THE IMAGINATION: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

Imagination is critical to understanding and respecting diverse peoples, cultures, and histories. Literary texts are flashpoints for “training the imagination.” I attempt to apply an interdisciplinary approach to an ethical reading of Rainer Maria Rilke’s poem, *Der Panther* (“Panther”). I frame Spivak’s (2003) use of *teleiopoiesis*, a Derridean-derived theoretical concept that implies *teleio* as both an end and a distance and *poiesis* as a creative process. I then introduce cognitive linguistic features, specifically metaphor, discussed by Pinker in his 2007 book, *The Stuff of Thought*. I argue that training the imagination should be an important pedagogical goal.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Imagination sounds very academic. Yet, it is neither academic nor prosaic. I believe that imagination is what enables us to read enthusiastically, to engage each other respectfully, and ultimately, to respond to the call for an ethical approach to textual analysis that helps us to dismantle the binary between self and other.

In this presentation, I build from Gayatri Spivak’s (2003) book, *Death of a Discipline*, in which she analyzes the concept of *teleiopoiesis*, a term I will explain in more detail later. In brief, it is a concept that deals with that all-important ability to remove the self from the self. That is, the ability to move beyond identification or even understanding of difference to create a space to respect difference and alterity without valuation.

Yet, identification and affirmation have value. For this reason, I argue that metaphor, as analyzed by Steven Pinker in his 2007 book, *The Stuff of Thought: Language as a Window into Human Nature*, is a tool—not simply a literary flourish, but rather what he called “an aid to reason,” that is, a cognitive and linguistic structural commonality that grounds us and finds community in unexpected places. What he argued is that language, even with multiple languages and questions on the stability of meaning, is “adapted to every feature of our experience that is shareable with others, and a large part of the human condition falls into its purview” (p. 428).

I attempt to apply what I call a “combinatorial reading tool,” by which I mean that if we are willing to teach students that reading is not simply a theoretical end, but rather a complex and exciting process that sparks the imagination, that opens those unexpected spaces between borders, and that enables infinite possibilities.

Therefore, I have chosen a text that is perhaps an active participant in what it means to train the imagination: Rainer Maria Rilke’s poem *Der Panther*. Below is Walter Arndt’s (1989) English translation of the poem and the original German.

THE PANTHER

Jardin des Plantes, Paris

His gaze has been so worn by procession	1
Of bars that it no longer makes a bond.	2
Around, a thousand bars seem to be flashing,	3
And in their flashing show no world beyond.	4
The lissom steps which round out and re-enter	5
That tightest circuit of their turning drill	6
Are like a dance of strength about a center	7
Wherein there stands benumbed a mighty will.	8
Only from time to time the pupil’s shutter	9
Will draw apart: an image enters then,	10

To travel through the tautened body's utter 11
 Stillness—and in the heart to end. 12
 (Walter Arndt)

DER PANTHER

Im Jardin des Plantes, Paris

Sein Blick ist vom Vorübergehn der Stäbe 1
 so müd geworden, daß er nichts mehr hält. 2
 Ihm ist, als ob es tausend Stäbe gäbe 3
 und hinter tausend Stäben keine Welt. 4

Der weiche Gang geschmeidig starker Schritte, 5
 der sich im allerkleinsten Kreise dreht, 6
 ist wie ein Tanz von Kraft um eine Mitte, 7
 in der betäubt ein großer Wille steht. 8

Nur manchmal schiebt der Vorhang der Pupille 9
 sich lautlos auf-. Dann geht ein Bild hinein, 10
 geht durch der Glieder angespannte Stille- 11
 und hört im Herzen auf zu sein. 12
 (Rainer Maria Rilke)

I analyze the German text, but discuss the poem in English. While this is problematic, I leave the discussion of the translation question for another time.

The first two words, *Sein Blick*, translate literally as “His gaze.” However, in German, *sein* is also the verb “to be,” and the word *Blick* has multiple meanings: look, eyes, expression or look in one’s eyes, view, and awareness. In other words, *His Gaze* can also be read as *Being Vision* or *To Be Aware or Seeing*—which offers a nice metaphor for the imagination.

2.0. AND WHAT OF METAPHOR?

Metaphor is almost an overused concept. We all understand it—or think that we do. However, in his recent book, *The Stuff of Thought*, Pinker (2007) took the idea one step further. He looked at four concepts related to our physical experience—time, space, causality, and substance—and argued that metaphor asserts an identification rather than a comparison through our mutual existence in a physical reality and, therefore, can serve as a tool to ground abstract differences into concrete and actionable commonalities.

What this means in terms of training the imagination is that metaphor used in a cognitive and linguistic structure can enable the reader to apply a relationship between parts or, even more importantly, to the relationship between relationships. That helps us remove the seduction of surface similarities and dig deeper into meaning, in this case, to find underlying similarities between the self and the text and to ground abstract differences in concrete likenesses.

Pinker (2007) used a scientific example in which engineers trying to develop a paintbrush could not imitate natural bristles with synthetic ones—at least not until they recognized that the metaphorical relationship was not bristle to bristle, but action to action—a natural paintbrush works like a pump: “when a painter bends the brush against a surface, he forces paint through the spaces between bristles, which act like channels or pipes” (p. 254).

This builds on earlier analyses of metaphor, but Pinker’s (2007) higher order, relational comparison enables us to unearth similarities beyond the surface binary and to consistently apply a cognitive framework that pairs entities in two domains. For Pinker, this can mean ignoring individual properties that may seem different—such as, say, two ethnicities—and discovering less obvious, but perhaps useful commonalities, such as natural environment or place—a pump and a bristle.

3.0. HOW DO WE APPLY THIS CONCEPT OF METAPHOR TO A TEXT?

Der Panther was first published in 1907 in the poetry collection *Neue Gedichte* ("New Poems"), in which Rilke wrote *Ding-Gedichte* ("Thing Poems"), exploring the presence of words, images, and objects. In these poems, Rilke is asking about our relationship to things, which is in some ways an ethical questioning of subjectivity. In part, that is what it means to train the imagination: to train ourselves to question our point of view.

The original German shows that *Der Panther* begins with an eye metaphor, *Sein Blick*, with its dual meaning of "his gaze" and "being vision." In the poem, the panther is unable to see images or figures at a distance, in the future. In other words, the panther has lost imaginative ability.

This point is emphasized when the eye metaphor reappears in the third stanza in Line 9 through the *Vorhang*, or "shutter" of the pupil. Then, in Line 10, the *Bild*—which is defined as *picture*, *image*, or *metaphor*—enters into the panther where the *Bild* ends in the heart, or as the German is more literally translated, *ceases in the heart to be*. The last word, then, is "to be" or *sein*, which suggests that the panther's gaze, his ability to see or figure, is directly related to his ability to exist.

The poem, then, is potentially about the deadening effects of losing imagination, or, on the positive side, the regenerative power of the imagination.

4.0. TELEIOPOIESIS

I argue that *teleiopoiesis*, as analyzed by Spivak (2003), is the necessary philosophical and literary complement to metaphor, that *teleiopoiesis* is the tool that enables us to shuttle between what we find affirming and what we find distancing without passing judgment, without value-making.

Teleiopoiesis is a Derridean-derived theoretical concept that implies *teleio* as both an end and a distance. *Poiesis* is the creative process that opens up a space in which the reader's imagination can recreate the text from his or her contemporary frame and yet surrender his or her subjectivity to alterity. This movement between the reader as self and the text as object opens the space for imagination, a momentary removal of the binary, in which an ethical and creative opportunity becomes available.

Practically, that means that through close reading, a reader can train his or her imagination to distance him- or herself from his or her self and become, if only in his or her mind, the other.

Spivak (2003) emphasized that contemporary society has privatized the imagination (p. 38), by which she implies that contemporary readers use imagination mainly to discover that which they already know and that Western capitalism has created a dominant, hegemonic perspective on imagination. *Teleiopoiesis*, on the other hand, is meant as a tool for the imagination to think of what is as yet unimagined.

Teleiopoiesis, then, could be used to help a reader transfer agency from him or her self to the text. This transfer of agency, the shuttling between self and other, reveals a gap of possibility, a space in which the reader's imagination can play with the multiplicity and texture of identity and meaning. The reader can imagine *beyond* the metaphorical identification to develop his or her understanding of the other.

5.0. WHAT DOES TELEIOPOIESIS MEAN WHEN APPLIED TO DER PANTHER?

I chose this poem because we can read *Der Panther* as Rilke's attempt at *teleiopoiesis*. As contemporary readers, we can use the linguistic structure of metaphor to compare the deadening effect of the panther's inability to "see" (*Sein Blick*) as similar to what might happen to us, as readers, if we do not use our imagination.

However, if we look at how the panther's gaze is stopped by the "flashing of the bars," as noted in Lines 3 and 4, then the panther's inability to see at a distance is an example of how a reader fails to practice a *teleiopoetic* reading.

The reader is forced to confront his or her inability to see at a distance from the self and must draw on his or her own *poiesis*, the power of his or her own imagination. The reader must take part in the creative process of reading this text. I think of this process as training the imagination, and creating an opening out of the binary of the reader and the text (Spivak, 2003, p. 81).

6.0. WHY SHOULD TRAINING THE IMAGINATION BE A PEDAGOGICAL GOAL?

Both Spivak (2003) and Pinker (2007) looked to instruction, or training, to encourage people to think beyond themselves and their physical realities. Spivak argued that this ability to go beyond the self is discovered through training the imagination as an instrument of othering, while Pinker argued that the ability is gained by encouraging people “to think of a population as a collection of individuals rather than as a holistic figure” (p. 438).

The pedagogical goal of training the imagination is to enable the reader’s encounter with the text to be an experience of the unimaginable, or as Spivak (2003) put it, an experience of “the undecidable but decisive future that will have been”—that *perhaps*, that hope, that through the process of an imaginative reading we can go beyond our limitations.

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ORALITY AND LITERACY AT KUKANILOKO

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The connection between oral and written traditions in Oceanic literature is displayed at Kukaniloko. While many of the oral traditions linked to Kukaniloko are unknown and less publicized than the written traditions, I found the orality affiliated with the landscape profound and moving. Although the orality at Kukaniloko can be seen in many ways, I will address the two major ways that I have seen it tied to the location. The first way is that, at the birth of a *ho'ali'i* (child of the chief) at Kukaniloko, the child would be hurried to Waihau of Ho'olonopahu, where the family's genealogy would be recited. Second, Kukaniloko is also associated with orality because many stories are inscribed onto the traditional landscape, particularly the *pohaku* (stone), which is of historical, cultural, and astronomical significance in the *mo'olelo* (stories). Although I am not indigenous to Hawai'i and do not have a connection to the land as Kanaka Maui do, I am interested in Kukaniloko because of its significance to Kanaka Maui.

Through the consultation of interviews, literature, and newspapers in relation to scholarly works, I briefly explain the importance and history of Kukaniloko, elucidate how oral tradition is connected to the place while uncovering some of the *mo'olelo* tied to the *pohaku*, and analyze how Kukaniloko has been translated and portrayed in print in the past. Because of the impact oral tradition has played with regard to Kukaniloko, this paper should be read in conjunction with the video I have produced. Note that both oral and written texts inform one another, as I hope will be illustrated in this work. While this essay is a compilation of previous written works gathered on Kukaniloko, I hope to also bring to light stories told from a non-Western perspective, while elevating and upholding the power and significance of the oral tradition in a society where print is hegemonic.

Kukaniloko, the *piko* (navel or center) of O'ahu, is one of the two birth places (Holoholoku, Kauai is the other) for the setting apart of the *ho'ali'i*, descendants of Kane¹, *iku pau*², highest of them all. Kukaniloko was established on O'ahu by Nanakaoko and his wife, Kahihikalani, as the place for the birth of their son, Kapawa (AD 1060). Since time immemorial, *kua pu'u* Kukaniloko³ was the *pohaku* to be trusted to remove all pain associated with the *liloe kapu* (prescribed regulations for birthing). Kukaniloko literally means "to anchor the cry from within." When the *ali'i wahine* (wife of the chief) was near birthing, she was carried by *mane'e*⁴ (liter) to Kukaniloko by four retainers. She would not touch the ground because of her sacredness and multiple *kapu* (privileges). A fine *kapa* (fabric made of beaten mulberry bark) was placed upon the *kua pu'u* Kukaniloko for the presentation of the child. The *ali'i wahine* was supported by two retainers who straddled *kua pu'u* Kukaniloko in what is known today as a fireman's lift. Two additional retainers stood in front of the stone to support her feet with their hips as she bore down in a gravity-assisted birth rite. A fifth retainer would receive the child, bundle the child in the *kapa*, and hurry him or her along with the mother by *mane'e* to Waihau Ho'olonopahu, where the mother and child were separated by the piercing of the *a'a* (umbilical cord). Ho'olonopahu is described as "to observe the piercing." The *pahu* (temple drums), *hawea*⁵ and *opoku*⁶ were sounded (Lenchanko, 2007).

Kukaniloko is of great value to the Kanaka Maui because it is considered the *piko* (navel or center) of the island of O'ahu, a fitting place to bear the offspring of someone who would eventually manage the people through peace and prosperity. The *piko* is significant to the Kanaka Maui because literally and figuratively, the navel represents the connection to the source of life. Symbolically then, the navel is a direct channel to the source itself. Thus, Kukaniloko is not only powerful because it is a place symbolic of birth but also because it is the center of the island of O'ahu, thus representing a source of life for the *ho'ali'i* born there and the people, who were cared for and managed by them.

Today, Kukaniloko, located north of Wahiawa Town, is a National Register historic site and state monument, hopefully meaning that the 5 of the 36,000 acres of Kukaniloko that are within the site will be preserved (and protected) from development and desecration. The site was recognized in the 1930s (Daughters of Hawai'i ownership) when it became the only site on O'ahu allowed any official protection against complete demolition by the pineapple industry. Those 5 acres have been reinstated on the state registry as a state monument, purchased by the state of Hawai'i in 1992 and placed within the state parks for preservation.

Thomas Thrum (1923) concluded that Kukaniloko was significant because the events tied to the place would ultimately impact the rest of the Hawaiian society because the *ali'i* born in the area would eventually grow to rule and guide the people there. Carol Silva (1998) asserted,

Tradition held that if the chiefess had complete trust in the sacredness of the site and was properly positioned on the birthing stone, the child would be born with honor. The gods would bestow their blessing by bringing forth a royal descendant with little discomfort or danger suffered by mother and child. If, however, the delivery was difficult, if the mother showed signs of pain and distress, the seated chiefs would be concerned that the gods had not intervened to ease the birth. They would question the child's inner nature and background, or perhaps view this as an omen that there was weakness in the bloodline. (14)

Dale Richeson's (1962a) article, "The Birth Stones Beyond Wahiawa," indicated that "not only were the pangs of childbirth easier for the women, thus delivered [at Kukaniloko], but the babies there born were assured of special sacred blessings not accorded to royal infants born elsewhere...The site was considered by Hawaiians, even in recent generations, to be one of the most sacred spots among all the ancient Island shrines and commoners refused to approach the area, lest they violate the *tabu* (sic)."

The first way that oral tradition is linked to Kukaniloko is the recitation of the family's genealogy at the birth of the *ho'ali'i*. Especially significant to Hawaiians is their genealogy. As illustrated in the *Kumulipo*, the Hawaiian creation chant, Hawaiian genealogy is not only central to their identity because it tells who they are but also because it tells where they came from, tracing and connecting themselves back to the gods and land. Lenchanko asserted,

As soon as the baby is presented, they would wrap it in *kapa* and take it to Ho'olonopahu, where the purification ceremonies and recitation of the genealogy from the first born, *kapawa*, to the newly born (nothing written down, all oral). Thirty-six *ali'i*, *ike maka* (eye witness) the birth, to verify who the child is and the mom and dad. All the composed *hula* (dances) and *mele* (song) that were created from the time the child was conceived at Kapukapuakea Heiau was now presented to memorialize the event, which was overseen by 48 *ali'i kapu*.

Lenchanko not only noted the significance of the recitation of the genealogy to the newborn child in the confirmation of the child's identity and connection to a sacred bloodline but also emphasized that the purpose of the 36 *ali'i* as eyewitnesses was for oral reference and verification that the birth did take place because nothing was written down, with confirmation "inclusive and by" the 48 *ali'i kapu*.

In addition to the orality seen in the recitation of the family's genealogy at Kukaniloko, orality is seen in the stories inscribed and embedded onto the stones at Kukaniloko. In *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism*, Cristina Bacchilega (2007) asserted, "In most, if not all Hawaiian *mo'olelo* (connected story), 'place' situates events, heroes, tellers and listeners, memories and emotions in ways that connect the creation and transformation of landmarks with familial or genealogical relations" (8). In his essay, *Our Sea of Islands*, Epli Hau'ofa (1999) affirmed Bacchilega's assertion, stating, "They [Polynesians] have already made their presence felt in these homelands and have stamped indelible imprints on the cultural landscapes" (p. 34). As stated previously, Kukaniloko is important to Kanaka Maoli because of the familial and genealogical ties they have to the place. Not only do stories connect *ali'i* births to Kukaniloko, but the stones that remain today tell stories of history that have taken place there and explain the functionality of the rocks at Kukaniloko. I have labeled such stories as oral because many of them are not written down.

In addition to the rocks holding historical and cultural significance, some stones at Kukaniloko hold astronomical value. Three stones in particular, the Trimester Stone, the O'ahu Stone/Solstice Stone, and the Compass Stone, have been used as reference points to mark time and place in relation to the rising and setting of the sun, the moon, and stars from positions along the mountain ranges and peaks of O'ahu. (This should be read in conjunction with the video.)

Perhaps the most impressive of the stones is the Compass Stone. In 1982, retired U.S. Army Major Harry G. Kurth discovered a connection between a diamond-shaped rock at Kukaniloko and that of Gilbertese

"stone boat" formations in Micronesia that are used as star compasses (Mililani High School, 2001). What is amazing about the stone is that it not only accurately indicates the cardinal points of a compass with its 36 edges but that it can also be used to tell time, as an analemma sundial. In an interview, Lenchanko stated,

The *piko* of O'ahu, Kukaniloko 36 serrated edges, supposed to represent 360 degrees because it's a compass stone. Get one *piko* within the concentric rings and an older one. Can hardly see it. Put in the center one straight edge and draw a straight line, get north and south. This arrow points to Kaala, west and then the east here, so you get the cardinal points. The relationship that is shown here is the position of the island of O'ahu and its relationship to the equator, longitude-latitude in the AD 1500 document is how this stone is. . . . Another interesting point is that between each ridge is two and a half hours of the sun's movement across the sky. (Note quarter degree of movement equals one day.)

In contrast to the oral narrative of Kukaniloko that I have just presented, many stories and newspaper articles of Kukaniloko have been written from a Western perspective. For example, in 1927, a stone rumored to have been taken off of George Galbraith's estate on Kukaniloko was labeled to have a special healing power. This created much excitement among the people, and many flocked to this site to be cured of their physical ailments. In a newspaper article, "Wahiawa 'Healing Stone' Created Furor in 1927," Richeson wrote the following about the stone,

The blind were made to see, the lame to walk and the lepers...were cleansed. Before the weekend, coins and currency deposited by pilgrims totaled \$97. Within a few days the sum had grown into four figures... The rock, and a smaller one by its side, were virtually buried in leis... They climbed over the tiny fence someone had erected around it to rub the stone, then touch their hands against the afflicted parts of their bodies. Lei sellers, fruit peddlers and souvenir vendors set up shop on the fringes of the crowd. An elderly man proclaimed himself a priest, and urged visitors to rub the rock with eucalyptus leaves...then boil them and bathe in the water.

The above story displays how something sacred could be easily turned into a commodity and used for profit. The very fact that the newspaper article appeared in the *Advertiser* and *Star Bulletin* shows that the media portraying the stone (rock) as a commodity helped to perpetuate the image of the stone as something that could be treated with disrespect. Instead of the stone fulfilling its original purpose as something sacred to the *ali'i* of Hawai'i, it was treated as a tourist attraction.

Because Kukaniloko's sacral and cultural value has been disregarded in the past, it is important to put stories into print that have only been preserved in oral tradition so that they can be passed down to future generations. While I was able to find a decent amount of literature written about Kukaniloko, the stories affiliated with the different stones could not be found in any of the literature that I consulted. Consequently, I call for oral tradition to be validated as a form of knowledge. The knowledge that Lenchanko shared and passed down through the oral tradition is not any less valid than the knowledge that I uncovered in the books, especially the books that were not written by Kanaka Maoli.

Selina Marsh (1999), an indigenous scholar, stated, "Our oral knowledge and experiences, must be validated as formal centers of indigenous thought, our cultures, our 'ways of knowing,' as the starting point of indigenous theory." While Marsh's framework acknowledges that indigenous theory must start from oral knowledge and tradition, note the role that multimedia plays in preserving oral tradition. Not only can multimedia correct inaccurate portrayals or misleading narratives, as the newspaper depicts of Kukaniloko, but it can also more closely capture the performative aspect so essential to Hawaiian oral tradition. In this project, I hoped to show how multimedia embellished and enhanced the oral text. In this sense, orality and literacy go hand in hand in making Kukaniloko, a place of sacred birth, a place of astronomical and cultural significance, a place of healing, and help us "to protect the privileges of Kukaniloko because we love them for all time" (Lenchanko, 2007).

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NOTES

1. Kane is considered to be the sun god.
2. *Iku pau* were direct descendents of Kane.
3. *Kua puu* Kukaniloko literally means back rest.
4. *Manele* is a litter, frame work having horizontal shafts near the bottom and enclosing a couch on which a person can be carried.
5. *Hawea* literally means to inspect and examine with care; issuance of the breathe of life. The *kaona* (hidden meaning) of *hawea* refers to the ancient temple drum of Kukaniloko sounded for the recognition of the new born child to be a descendant of Kane [ho'ali'i] attributed with many privileges [kapu] and again at the time of the piercing of the navel cord at Ho'olonopahu.
6. *Opoku* literally means to pray for with great anticipation and expectation. The *kaona* of *opoku* also refers to an ancient drum attributed to La'a of Kapa'ahu, in Kukaniloko at Wahiawa in Waialua, Oahu, the issue of Ahukai and Keaka-milo.

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“REMEMORING” THE BODY: NAVIGATING SUBJECTIVITY THROUGH SCARS IN TONI MORRISON’S *BELOVED*

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ABSTRACT

In Toni Morrison’s (1987) novel *Beloved*, the reconciliation of the body with the self occurs through “rememory,” with scars acting as a catalyst for this process. In this essay, I argue that recovering subjectivity involves the locating of agency within one’s scars. The act of “rememory,” an active mode of remembering, aligns the painful histories of slavery in ways that allow for individuals and communities to reclaim ownership of their pasts and their corporeal selves. While Baby Suggs and Paul D are able to experience some success in these efforts, Sethe fails to engage the healing properties of rememory, and as a result, remains fragmented.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The terrors of slavery, often manifested as a loss of subjectivity and bodily integrity, mark the corporeal body in literal and figurative ways. By translating these flesh-as-text markings, we are able to better understand how the body both mediates and retains the sociocultural histories of African Americans. Accordingly, in Toni Morrison’s (1987) novel *Beloved*, individual and communal histories are literalized through the body, and the traumatic memories of slavery are represented by the metaphor of the scarred body. In this essay, I argue that recovering subjectivity is a process of navigating the histories embedded in the body, and in particular, in scars. By using “rememory,” individuals can generate new narratives that turn once-painful memories into self-affirming rememories, perceiving scars as evidence of agency within the institution of slavery. While Baby Suggs, Sethe’s mother, and Paul D are successful in these efforts, Sethe fails to incorporate her rememories into a process of attaining subjectivity, and as a result, remains fragmented.

In *Beloved*, history and memory are symbolized by the trope of rememory. In speaking of rememory, Sethe states: “If a house burns down, it’s gone, but the place—the picture of it—stays, and not just in my rememory, but out there, in the world” (p. 43). By her account, rememory is a static formation that moves into the communal realm after its initial creation to be “bumped into” by anyone who happens upon it. However, the merging of the noun *memory* with the verb *to remember* also suggests that rememory is an action, a mode of remembering or creating memory that Cynthia Dobbs (1998) says “is always already re-created: that memory is never a stable, singular calling up of the past, but rather a partially invented, subjectively selective narrative of that past” (p. 568). Rememory is thus subject to a kind of creative license that has the power to reconstruct narratives of history in either positive or negative ways. Rememory, then, can act as a vital tool in aiding an individual in locating agency. By rememorizing events from the past, histories can be aligned in ways that allow for a reclamation of the body. Conversely, dwelling on painful memories without attempting to realign them within a social context allows these memories to sustain the fragmentation of the body. On such bodies, scars can be a constant reminder of psychic and bodily disintegration, preventing individuals from recovering any subjectivity.

2.0. A “HIEROGLYPHICS OF THE FLESH”

Scars embody what Hortense Spillers (1999) calls a “hieroglyphics of the flesh”, or marks which serve as a living reminder of the conditions of slavery (p. 500). The scars in *Beloved* take various forms, ranging from brands, to disfigured or missing limbs, to whip-scars. To return to Spiller’s theory of a “hieroglyphics of the flesh,” in the case of enslaved bodies, these hieroglyphics are the purview of white masters who wrote their ownership into and onto their slaves. In *Scarring the Black Body: Race and Representation in African American Literature*, Carol Henderson (2002) notes that “amputated limbs, disfigured body parts, welted backs—all were read as manifestations of a rebellious spirit. The slave’s body served as a billboard in another way, a ‘visual aid’ if you will, within the social structure of slavery, with these same marks serving as reminders to the black slave community of the consequences of rebellious action” (p. 36). Scars were often an indication of a slave’s sins against the master and denoted a detailed history of prior transgressions. What I find most intriguing about Henderson’s scholarship is the idea that scars can also evidence the attempt of the slave to gain a measure of agency. Scars can be residues of either some form of punishment or physical action. In a system like slavery

that consistently denies subjectivity, an escape attempt, a moment of verbal impertinence, or other forms of rebellion can be read as efforts to assert oneself bodily. Slaves thus exert agency through resistance, and scars bear witness to these attempts. Unfortunately, as Henderson points out, white owners predominantly interpreted scars as flaws in character, while slaves viewed scars with fear and terror. This method of reading scars is what inhibits Sethe in her ability to contextualize her rememories of her scar into a larger, more self-affirming narrative. However, Baby Suggs, Sethe's mother, and Paul D are successful in perceiving bodily mutilations as sites of strength.

3.0. LOCATING AGENCY WITHIN SCARS

Baby Suggs, as an "unchurched preacher," leads the community in *Beloved* into the Clearing, "a wide-open place cut deep in the woods nobody knew for what at the end of a path known only to deer and whoever cleared the land in the first place," where she enacts a ceremony of reclamation (Morrison, p. 102). The name "Clearing" also suggests the spiritual connotation of cleansing. Through rituals enacted in the Clearing, Baby Suggs calls the community to reclaim their bodies from a history of commodified labor by "danc[ing] with her twisted hip the rest of what her heart had to say while the others opened their mouths and gave her the music" (p. 104). Morrison's language describing this event can be read as Baby Suggs dancing "what her heart had to say" *in spite* of her twisted hip. Instead, I would argue that Baby Suggs *leads* with her twisted hip, which allows it to function as a medium through which her heart can express its love. The one time Baby Suggs sets herself in motion during the Clearing ritual, leading with her most visibly scarred body part is crucial. In this way, she is able to claim agency through her scar by re-envisioning it as a site of redeeming love. In doing so, she refuses to succumb to her rememories of what produced the wound in the first place, which ultimately helps to invert the hegemony of slavery.

Similarly, Sethe's mother locates agency in her scar by using it in ways that subvert the power of the slave owner. Sethe's mother "opened up her dress front and lifted her breast and pointed under it. Right on her rib was a circle and a cross burnt right in the skin. She said, "This is your ma'am. This," and she pointed. "I am the only one got this mark now. The rest dead. If something happens to me and you can't tell me by my face, you can know me by this mark" (Morrison, p. 72). The description of the scar, a circle and a cross, suggests crosshairs have been branded onto Sethe's mother, poetically marking her as a target for a lifetime of captivity. Although the bearing of her breast is necessary for Sethe's mother to point to her brand, it also effectively links mother and daughter in a symbolic replication of nursing, or the offering of nourishment and physical intimacy through the breast. Therefore Sethe, who is virtually unacquainted with her mother, is able to identify her by her brand specifically as a mother figure. In mobilizing her scar, Sethe's mother actively works against the tendency of slavery to eliminate ties of kinship. Spillers argues that slavery prevented a child from forming critical bonds with his or her mother and instead became "the man/woman on the boundary, whose human and familial status, by the very nature of the case, had yet to be defined. . . . 'kinship' loses meaning, since it can be invaded at any given and arbitrary moment by the property relations" (p. 508). Sethe's mother's claim to agency then comes from her mobilizing of her brand to reestablish mother-daughter identification with Sethe.

4.0. THE RELATIONALITIES OF SETHE'S DISMEMBERED "TREE"

Sethe's own scars are the result of a whipping given in punishment for reporting the stealing of her milk to Mrs. Garner. Accordingly, her scar is actually evidence of her agency in finding and mobilizing her voice against the violence of slavery. However, her scar is significantly located on her back and as such, she is physically and psychically unable to "see" her scar as confirmation of her agency. Her tendency to dwell on rememories that focus on her guilt and debilitation prevent her from embracing the transformative properties of her scar. As a result, her scar is described for her in various encounters with Amy Denver, Baby Suggs, and Paul D. In each of these encounters, Sethe's scar can be read in two different ways: the first, as an inscription of Sethe's personal history and psyche, and the second, as an inscription of a particular individual's rememory and his or her relation to Sethe.

Amy Denver is the first to see and name Sethe's scar, although at that moment, it is still a fresh wound. Despite the degraded state of Sethe's body, Amy interprets the scar on Sethe's back as something fertile and aesthetically beautiful: "It's a tree, Lu. A chokecherry tree. See, here's the trunk—it's red and spilt wide open, full of sap, and this here's the parting for the branches. You got a mighty lot of branches. Leaves, too, look like,

and dern if these ain't blossoms. . . . Your back got a whole tree on it. In bloom" (Morrison, p. 93). Amy's coding of Sethe's tree-scar focuses on discrete parts of the tree: the trunk, the branches, leaves, and blossoms. Amy's assertion that "you got a mighty lot of branches" also suggests that the tree is genealogical in nature, depicting Sethe's family line. Her escape from Sweet Home was an attempt to ensure that her children would be free of slavery; as a result, her family line stood a better chance of perpetuation. Her efforts to save her family are therefore forever preserved on her back as evidence of her maternal love.

However, the fact that Amy does not know Sethe's real name (she refers to her as "Lu") suggests that her interpretation of Sethe's wound does not inherently stem from Sethe's identity or character, but rather from Amy's own personal history. After she names Sethe's scar, Amy immediately transitions into a personal narrative, recalling that she "had me some whippings, but I don't remember nothing like this. Mr. Buddy had a right evil hand too. Whip you for looking at him straight. Sure would. I looked right at him one time and he hauled off and threw the poker at me" (Morrison, p. 93). By touching Sethe's scar, Amy is able to engage her own memories of psychic and bodily harm and write them onto Sethe's back. The history of the scar's viewer affects the ways in which the scar is perceived and named.

The second person to discover Sethe's scar is Baby Suggs. While Sethe is nursing Denver, Baby Suggs notices that "[r]oses of blood blossomed in the blanket covering Sethe's shoulders" (109–110). Sethe represents the possibility of family for Baby Suggs, and accordingly, she reads Sethe's scar as something beautiful—roses in bloom. Baby Suggs has seen her children "moved around like checkers" and understands the potential of slavery to destroy family ties: "What she called the nastiness of life was the shock she received upon learning that nobody stopped playing checkers just because the pieces included her children" (Morrison, pp. 27–28). Sethe is wife to Halle, the only child from whom Baby Suggs is not separated at this point in the text, and her arrival at Baby Suggs' house revives the possibility of preserving some semblance of a family. The roses Baby Suggs sees blossoming from Sethe's blood as Sethe is nursing her daughter are a reflection of Baby Suggs' hopes for a continuation of her bloodline.

Paul D is the last to be introduced to Sethe's scar, and despite Sethe's own assertion that "I got a tree on my back," Paul D reads her scar as a sculpture, "like the decorative work of an ironsmith too passionate for display" (Morrison, p. 21). Paul D's interpretation of Sethe's scar is shaped by his relationship to her; for Paul D, Sethe is a fantasy lover, a relationship that he never had the opportunity to consummate because she chose Halle. In Paul D's desire for her, her scar becomes incorporated into his fantasy as something powerful, symbolic of the sexual power she has over him. He reads her scar in a personal, masculine way and simultaneously enlists it to imagine new aesthetic possibilities for iron. Being no stranger to iron in the form of a bit, shackles, and three-spoke collar, Paul D finds passion in Sethe's iron scar and the agency to envision iron as strengthening instead of oppressive. By repositioning the instruments of his enslavement, Sethe's scar enables him to exert control over his own memories.

Paul D's reading of Sethe's scar also varies according to his perception of her during a given moment. After having quick, unsatisfying sex, Paul D reconsiders Sethe's scar and decides that "the wrought-iron maze he had explored in the kitchen like a gold miner pawing through pay dirt was in fact a revolting clump of scars. Not a tree, as she said" (Morrison, p. 25). Paul D supposes that his tracing of Sethe's scar in the kitchen was motivated by his desire to reach "pay dirt," or a sexual encounter with Sethe. After their disappointing sex, his fantasies of Sethe deflate and so do the ways in which he views her body; Sethe's scar cannot be a tree because according to Paul D, "trees were inviting," and Sethe's "tree" no longer holds its allure (p. 25). Sethe's scar is vulnerable to identification through the memories of others because she is unable to find the language to describe, and consequently to claim, her scar for herself. This process of self-articulation is a crucial missing step in Sethe's reclamation of her body. Near the end of the text, as Sethe is lying in bed distraught, Paul D. offers to rub her feet. She thinks, "There's nothing to rub now and no reason to. Nothing left to bathe, assuming he even knows how. Will he do it in sections . . . And if he bathes her in sections, will the parts hold?" (p. 321). Because Sethe has no power over her body, she experiences bodily and psychic dissolution, feeling as though her "parts" will not hold. This fragmentation is a direct result of her inability to locate a sense of agency in her scar to claim ownership of her body.

Although Sethe is unable to achieve a reconstitution of bodily integrity, Morrison does offer us a template for achieving a truly "freed self" in Paul D's assertion that "you your best thing, Sethe. You are" (p.

322). Self-affirmation thus occurs from the inside out. Sethe, although free from the physical confines of slavery, is still enslaved by her rememories of the terror that slavery has enacted upon her body and family. In her attempt to locate her value outside of herself, she forfeits control of her rememories and thus, her self. Morrison offers an alternative to such psychic enslavement by suggesting that self-possession necessarily involves two parts: claiming one's body wholly, including one's scars, and contextualizing rememories of the body into self-affirming narratives. Rememory then becomes a more fluid, dynamic conflation of history and memory that serves the interests of the individual as part of a community. Through this type of rememory, scars are finally able to transition from signifiers of wounding to signifiers of healing.

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THE BEAUTY OF WEAKNESS: THE IMAGE OF ZHUANGZI'S HOLY MAN ON GUYE MOUNTAIN AND EVALUATIONS OF PEOPLE IN WEI AND JIN PERIOD IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT

By examining the literary image of "the Holy Man", created as a metaphor of the Daoist doctrine of weakness, and analyzing evaluations of men's beauty in the Wei and Jin periods I argue that this particular image plays an essential role in the formation of an aesthetic tradition on the definition of man's beauty in Chinese literature, and some literary images serve as symbols for certain philosophical concepts.

1.0. THE EFFEMINATE IMAGE OF THE GUYE HOLY MAN AND ITS REASONS

Though labeled as a philosophical classic, *Zhuangzi* is also viewed as a literary classic. The image of the Guye Holy Man, who is a Daoist immortal dwelling in Guye Mountain and a symbolic figure of free and easy wandering (shenren, 姑射神人 in *Free and Easy Wandering* (xiaoyao you 逍遙遊), has ice-snow skin and a bearing as graceful as a virgin. This charming literary image has been deeply implanted in the hearts of the Chinese for almost 2000 years. However, what deserves our attention is that the Holy Man is effeminate while *Zhuangzi*¹ and all the annotators neglect to tell us its gender. In "The Appearance and Behavior" of *A New Account of Tales of the World* (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語) the famed individuals (*mingshi* 名士) in Wei- Jin who are praised also embody a kind of effeminate beauty. Is there any relationship between the above two examples of imagery? Why does the Guye Holy Man display womanly characteristics so obviously, and what influence does this literary image cast on the evaluations of Wei and Jin people? All these questions are worthy of exploration because they will assist us in further exploring the legacy of Chinese literature.

Zhuangzi writes in *Free and Easy Wandering*, "Afar in the Guye Mountain lives a Holy Man, its skin is as white as ice and snow, and it is as elegant as a virgin. It does not eat any of the five grains, just breathes in wind and drink dew instead. It mounts upon the clouds and rides a flying dragon, traveling beyond the four seas." Here, Zhuangzi fails to tell the readers the gender of the Holy Man. If read literally, it can be seen as fully female because of its appearance and body characteristics. Like Zhuangzi, each annotator of *Zhuangzi* does not judge whether it is male or female; needless to say, they take it for granted that it is a male. The term "Holy Man" appears several times in the book, such as "the Holy Man has no achievements (*gong* 功)," (*Free and Easy Wandering*), "the Holy Man never cares about how the *shengren* 聖人 rule the world (*Waiwu* 外物) and so on. The Holy Man is usually compared with *shengren*, from which we can see it is designed as a counterpart of *shengren* and is originally male, and we can make a further judgment that it is a male spiritual being full of womanly qualities according to the bodily features that Zhuangzi depicts. The Holy Man's physical features concentrate on his skin and gestures. Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 annotates the word "Ice-snow *bingxue* 冰雪;" in this way, "Ice *bing* 冰, is the ancient character *ning* 凝; ice-snow skin means what *The Book of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經) (1985) says, 'the skin is like congealed fat 凝脂', *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 also cites *The Book of Poetry* and says that it means 'white and smooth'. *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 and *Er-ya* 爾雅 both view *bing* as *ning*, 'congealed fat' signifies its whiteness and smoothness, ice-snow tells its whiteness". Actually, the word "congealed fat" comes from "Shuoren" 碩人 of *The Book of Poetry*, and is used to portray the beauty of Zhuangjiang, the wife of Wei Zhuanggong 衛莊公. The original text is as follows "the hands are like tender cogongrass, the skin like congealed fat, the neck like longicorn's larva, and the teeth like rows of melon seeds". Zhu Xi 朱熹 explains in *Shi jizhuan* 詩集傳 that the tender cogongrass means softness and whiteness; fat coagulates because of cold, which also means whiteness; longicorn's larva is the white and long wood worm; melon seeds are white and neat ones of fruit seeds.² All these metaphors are applied to reveal how white Zhuangjiang's hands, complexion, neck and teeth are, which demonstrate her attractive appearance. Later "congealed fat" is frequently used to picture women's white and smooth skin.

As to the word elegance or grace *chuoyue* 綽約, *Jingdiana shiwen* 經典釋文³ cites the annotation of Li Yi 李頤, who says it means "weakness 柔弱"; Sima Biao 司馬彪 says it means "prettiness 好貌", and Cheng

Xuanying 成玄英 agrees with Li Yi. Generally speaking, annotators in each dynasty explain the sentence “the skin is as white as ice and snow, and the posture as elegant as a virgin 肌膚若冰雪，綽約如處子” in this way: “ice-snow shows its purity *jiejing* 潔淨, elegance means mildness *rouhe* 柔和”,⁴ that is to say, ice-snow refers to white and smooth skin, while elegance means delicacy and beauty. As to the word “virgin”, the maid in the room 在室女 or unmarried girl 未嫁女, Guo Xiang thinks it means “not hurt the interior by external forces 不以外傷內”; Cheng Xuanying says, “the virgin is not harmed by other things 處子不為物傷”. Both of them tell us that due to her purity, the virgin is not infringed upon by forces from outside. Through several words, the image of Guye Holy Man is successfully constructed and has become a charming and attractive literary model that represents people who have cut themselves off from the rest of the world, liberated themselves from conventions, or live in leisurely seclusion. When we exclaim about Zhuangzi’s masterly handling of such material, we also feel confused about why the male Holy Man conveys distinct female qualities. If we examine the succession and development of all literature in later periods, and the fact that certain literary images often reflect philosophical concepts or thought, we will find it is not unusual for the Guye Holy Man to display such bodily features. , Zhuangzi inherits and transforms the myths and legends to create the Holy Man, as Yuan Ke 袁珂 says, “The fables in *Zhuangzi* often rely on ancient myths, they are not fictional, but the modification of those myths”.⁵ Comparatively speaking, *Shanghai jing* 山海經 collects ancient myths more completely and there is a record about the Holy Man on Guye Mountain, although it is rather sketchy:

The Guye Mountain is beyond the sea and on it lives a Holy Man who adapts his actions to changing conditions. When it is time to abdicate, Yao and Shun 堯舜 emerge; when it is time for wars, Tang and Wu 湯武 appear⁶.

Though the features of the Holy Man are not described, most of the gods and goddesses in *Shanghai jing* are of grotesque shapes, and are ugly and uncivilized. For example, “Uncle River hebo 河伯 has human face and fish body”,⁷ “The Queen Mother of the West 西王母 has human shape, leopard tail and tiger teeth. She is good at growling, like a hoopoe with disheveled hair⁸”; “Han Liu 韓流 has human face, pig mouth, unicorn legs and pig toes⁹”. From these figures, we can imagine that the Guye Holy Man should also be of an ugly species different from common people, maybe with the face of a man but the body of a beast or with feathers or fur on the body. Zhuangzi portrayed the Holy Man in the light of human beings and finally turned it into a handsome young man. It is true that “humanizing mystical story is the clever reconstruction by people in the Warring States period¹⁰”.

In addition, another distinct characteristic of early myths that deserve our attention is that, “objects, birds and beasts are all white 物禽獸盡白”. Guo Pu 郭璞 notes the sentence “Penglai Mountain is in the sea” in *Hainei beijing* 海內北經, “On the mountain are xian’s palaces which are all built of gold and jades. Birds and beasts are all white, which are like clouds visually. The mountain is in the Bo Sea 渤海”.¹¹ Yuan Ke says that Guo Pu’s annotations are based on the record in “*Fengshan shu*” 封禪書, *Shiji* 史記 by Sima Qian. The original and detailed account is below:

Wei, Xuan and Yaozhao ordered their men to search for Penglai, Fangzhang and Yingzhou, the three sacred mountains in the sea. It was said those mountains were in the Bo Sea and not far away from people. When they were nearly there, the wind blew the ships away. Some people once went to the sacred mountains, where the immortals and elixir of immortality were. The objects, birds and beasts, were all white and the palaces were constructed with gold and silver. When people stayed away from them, the three mountains seemed like clouds. Once people reached there, they sunk into the water. If people approached them, the wind would blow the ships away, as a result, they all failed to get there.¹²

“The white objects, birds and beasts”, “looking like clouds” and “using gold and silver to build palaces”, should have existed in the early myths, at least in the times of Sima Qian, these attributes still remained and spread. Apparently, the creators of the myths established these features as the basis of their own visual experience about the color and shapes of the clouds over the sea, as some clouds seems like human or beasts, in the white color, and the golden rims of clouds (reflection in the sunshine) sketch the outlines of palaces, which are all ordinary visual impressions. When Lu Xun 魯迅 discusses the origin of ancient myths, he thinks the ancestors found that things in the world always change; however, they could not offer explanations

for these phenomena, so they created many reasons to explain them. All these explanations are today called myths¹³. When myths were initially produced, the early ancestors could not give reasons for the magical phenomenon of mirage though they found that the clouds over the seas or in the mountains carried diverse and varied shapes, like birds, beasts and even humans. The unstable clouds in the sky can form a world similar to the one on the land. Although curious about the phenomenon, people did not know it is normal meteorological phenomena. "White birds and beasts and other things" is the right depiction in accordance with the cloud color and shapes, which impressed Zhuangzi greatly. He accepted this trait and applied it to the Guye Holy Man. Yuan Ke mentions in his paper "The Fusion of The Two Myth Systems of Kunlun and Penglai in *Chuci* and *Zhuangzi*," that because he once lived in Song, near to the east, Zhuang Zhou should have had the experience of seeing the seas. Perhaps based on his own visual impressions, the mild and misty clouds with the shapes of human bodies were just like the virgin's graceful posture, which once again deeply impressed him. Therefore, when he transformed and polished the ancient myths according to his visual experiences and aesthetic inclination, the Holy Man, as described by Zhuangzi, was naturally featured with snow-white skin and in an elegant pose.

The Guye Holy Man is not only depicted as humanized and tenderhearted without any trace of beasts, he also appears as a lithe and graceful, pure and noble beauty. Yet the Holy Man only gives us a murky impression, without a more detailed or vivid description of his appearance. Obviously, it is the dimness that successfully brings about the strong artistic effect: the untouchable distance and mystery, which make the Holy Man's image so gorgeous and attractive.

On the other hand, from the aspect that such a literary image reflected some philosophical concept and doctrine, the beauty of weakness or mildness (*rouuo* 柔弱) that the Holy Man Zhuangzi writes conforms to his philosophical doctrine that Taoists should remain weak and quiet. The Holy Man is as weak as a virgin, traveling on a flying dragon beyond the four seas all day long, but he has a strong life and super ability "when he is concentrating his minds, the crops mature without any disease". Guo Qingfan notes that shengren looks haggard, his heart is like dead ashes, and his movement and tranquility are both wonderful. Quiet shining makes things move imperceptibly; an empty mind is better for everything. Hence, he can make the four seasons ordered, crops harvested; no disasters for people and no wronged death for living things. Such a sacred person with vast magical powers carries a pure and weak carriage. As a matter of fact, Zhuangzi's viewpoint of cherishing weakness and stillness (*zhurou guijin* 主柔貴靜) agrees with Laozi's doctrine of "valuing the weakness and depreciating the strongest (*guirou jiangang* 貴柔賤剛) about which Laozi establishes a set of theories. Here, *rouuo* is not only the meaning of weakness and feebleness in a common sense, but a modest or humiliate external form for an internal motivating power or impetus and potential.

Firstly, Laozi stresses the use of water, saying "The highest good is like water. Water's goodness is that it benefits the myriad living things, yet does not contend and stays in places the multitude detests. Therefore it approximates the way (Dao) It is because it does not contend that it is without misfortune" (Chapter 8) and "There is nothing softer and weaker in the world than water; and yet in attacking the hard and strong, there is nothing which can take precedence over it. This is because there is nothing which can take its places. There is no one in the world who does not know that the weakness of water can overcome the strong, and its softness, the hard; and yet there are none who can put this into practice" (Chapter 78). The main traits of water are softness and not contending. Laozi asserts that "because he does not contend, there is no one able to contend with him" (Chapter 66) and "weakness is the means of Dao 道" (Chapter 40). To Laozi, weakness is omnipotent and "the softest in the world controls the hardest in the world. That which has nothing there enters where there is no space. This is how I know the benefit of doing nothing 無為" (Chapter 43). When referring to life, Laozi says, "When people are born they are soft and weak; when they die they are hard and strong. When the myriad living things, the trees and herbaceous plants are engendered, they are soft and flexible; when they die they are withered and brittle. So it is said: Hardness and the strong are companions of death; softness, weakness, minuteness and fitness, the companions to life" (Chapter 76), which tells us that weakness indicates an active internal life and a vigorously developing potential while the strong and hard are going to die due to the loss of vigor.

Secondly, Laozi emphasizes the state of being as weak is infantile, saying “Shengren 聖人 are all like infants” (Chapter 49), and “In concentrating your qi 氣 so that it is supremely soft, can you reach infancy” (Chapter 10)? Wang Bi explains, “Relying on natural qi to the harmony of softness, can one as not-desiring as a baby?”¹⁴ Laozi also says “A man of high virtue, may be compared to a new-born baby (*chizi* 赤子)” (Chapter 55) and “the young have weak bones and supple muscles, but their grasp is firm” (Chapter 55), to which Wang Bi adds, “the new-born baby has no desire or demand and will not offend other things”, “Just because of its weakness it can hold firm”. As to the sentences “Know the masculine, but keep the feminine, and act as a runnel for the world. Act as runnel to the world and the constant virtue will not depart, and you will return again to the state of infancy” (Chapter 28), Wang says, “The male belongs to the rank of *xian* 先, the female belongs to the rank of *hou* 後. Know that one should keep back in order to get the first, hence the shengren makes him first by keeping himself behind. The runnel does not demand others, and other things all go to it. The baby does not apply wisdom (*zhi* 智), hence it fits for the wisdom of spontaneity.” Here, females and infants share some qualities, such as being weak and non-competitive.

Laozi applies the images of infants and new-born babies as metaphors several times to express the purity and weakness of people with lofty virtues, while Zhuangzi uses the virgin to describe the purity and mildness of the Holy Man. The images of water, infant, and virgin have similar meanings in the sense of purity and weakness. Zhuangzi says, “The one who does not depart from jing 精 can be called Holy Man” (“Tianxia” 天下), and “jing means purity”¹⁵. Holy Man possesses ice-snow skin and crystal-like transparent flesh, just like a baby; the weak and soft gesture of Holy Man matches the weakness of baby as well; and the virgin-like Holy Man, not hurt by outside forces, is as pure as infant. Moreover, a virgin has no desire (*wuyu* 無欲) as a baby. Xiang Xiu 向秀 points out that “the virgin is quiet and meek, mild and not noisy, she never begs others, but is demanded by others”. Laozi *Daode jing* 道德經 also “The female always overcomes the male by means of stillness. It is because of her stillness that is appropriate for her to take the position below” (Chapter 61), which Wang Bi annotates as “Male’s restlessness and contending cause greed and desire, the female often stays still, which makes them superior to the male,” and “Keep still and not desiring, everything will come themselves”. Laozi stresses a modest living attitude towards life, by avoiding aggression and staying low, Zhuangzi also emphasizes modest life principles of being mild and weak. Zhuangzi elucidates the sentence by stating “Know the masculine, but keep the feminine” as “people all goes in front, only I keep behind, bearing the filth of the world; people all get the substantial things, only I hold nothing. I never store things, hence I have more than enough” (“Tianxia” 天下). Guo Xiang explains further, “Heroes are restless and aggressive, so they usually die young; the female who are receding and keeping quiet can live long”. Zhuangzi regards Laozi as “a great True Man (*zhenren* 真人) indeed of ancient times” (*The World*), saying, the dao of Laodan 老聃 has “a weak and modest outward appearance and an empty and not-destroying substance”, which Cheng Xuanying explains “use weakness and modesty as the exterior of power”. In brief, both Laozi and Zhuangzi emphasize *rou*, although Laozi uses water and infant as the carrier for his doctrine while Zhuangzi applies the image of the Holy Man.

Furthermore, the phrase “free and easy wandering” in Zhuangzi is referred to in Shengren as “free and easy wandering in the field of *wuwei* 無為” (“Dazongshi” 大宗師) and “Why not plant it in an area with nothing there or a broad field? There is nothing nearby, with people free and easy wandering and sleeping under it” (“Free and easy wandering”), from which we can see free and easy wandering is similar to *wuwei* in some senses. Some chapters in *Zhuangzi* discuss Dao’s unconscious movements, which are often described as free and easy wandering¹⁶. Shengren is a free and easy wanderer in the dao just as the fish are swimming in rivers. In other words, Guye Holy Man, as the representative of free and easy wandering, embodies the spirit of *wuwei*.

2.0. THE HOLY MAN IMAGE AND EVALUATIONS OF PEOPLE IN WEI AND JIN PERIODS

People in Wei-Jin value one’s appearance. When they evaluate others, the beauty of appearance becomes an independent aesthetic object. As for men’s outward appearances, they especially appreciate the feminine beauty of men: Wang Youjun 王右軍 sees Du Hongzhi 杜弘治, extolling, “the face is like congealed fat, the eyes are so dark, this is a man of shenxian 神仙中人”, which is apparently influenced by the image of Zhuangzi’s Guye Holy Man. Another example of similar appearance and behavior lies with He Yan 何晏, “He Pingshu 何平叔 is beautiful, with a very white face. Wei Ming-di 魏明帝 suspected that He Yan was made up with powder, thus he gave Yan hot soup and cake on a sweltering summer day. After Yan finished eating, sweat

streamed down. He wiped himself with a red cloth and his face turned bright and clear. It is recorded in *Weilue* 魏略 that “Yan appreciate himself with powder and silk in hand all the time. He looks at his shadows when walking”. According to this account, He Yan’s fascinating appearance depends on makeup. But because Yan grew in the imperial palace at a similar age to Wei, would the emperor suspect his whiteness and experiment to find out the truth? “White face” is a key factor for He Yan’s beauty and here in *A New Account of Tales of the World*, the author take pains to prove that He Yan does not rely on powder, but was naturally white. “Wang Yifu 王夷甫 has pretty appearance, talks about xuan 玄 wonderfully. He always holds a *chenwei* 麈尾¹⁷ with a jade handle which is not different from his hand”, which implies that Wang’s hands are as white and smooth as the jade. This kind of feminine (*yinrou* 陰柔) beauty, conventionally used for descriptions of women, is applied to men naturally and men’s effeminacy became in vogue. Called jade person (*biren* 璧人), Wei Jie 衛玠 is as beautiful as Du Hongzhi, as Biographies of Famous Scholars in Areas East of Yangzi River (*Jiangzuo mingzhi zhuan* 江左名士傳) account, “Wei Jie went to Xiadu from Yuzhang, people knew his name for long, so the lookers formed a wall. Jie once had a weakness disease, and couldn’t fatigue. He got sick and died. The contemporary people said that watching killed Wei Jie.” Being excessively watched killed a person due to his pretty appearance; we cannot say there is no exaggeration in this statement, but we can see the extent to which those people esteem this kind of beauty. The ideal beautiful person in the eyes of Wei and Jin should look like pearls and jades (*zhuyu* 珠玉):

Wei Mingdi made the queen’s brother Mao Zeng 毛曾 sit with Xia Houxuan 夏侯玄, the contemporaries said, “Reeds lean upon a jade tree”. Pan Anren 潘安仁, Xia Houzhan 夏侯湛 both had nice looks and liked walking together, the contemporaries called them linked jades. General Wang said that Taiwei 太尉 stood among people, just as pearl and jade in rubbles (“Appearance and Behavior”)

Someone called on Wang Taiwei, coincidentally, Anfeng 安豐, the general, chengxiang 丞相 were all there. He went into another room, met Ji Yin 季胤 and Pingzi 平子. After coming back, he told others, “The people whom my eyes touched today are all glimmering pearls and jades (“Appearance and Behavior”).

A Jade tree, jade person and linked jade all highlight the prominent attribute of jade (*yu* 玉), its pure, smooth and mild appearance, which correspond to some womanly characteristics. Famed scholars of Wei and Jin developed their individual personalities limitlessly, and often deviated from conventions. The words “congealed fat” and “pearl and jade”, which are generally for depicting women, are often attached to men. In some sense, the white and smooth skin of man turn to be a symbol identity, not only noble, but listed in the ranks of *shenxian*, a highly honor to people who loves Dao.

The Wei-Jin people also praised Wang Zhangshi 王長史(Wang Meng 王濛) for his physical shape. He worked as Zhongshu lang 中書郎 and went to Jinhe 敬和 one day. The snow was thick when Zhangshi got off the carriage and stepped into the room in official clothes. Jinhe saw him from afar and sighed in wonder, “This is no longer a man in the world 非世中人”. Not being a man of the world implies purity, getting rid of the contamination from conventional society and the state of being free from worldly cares and bothers. As people were profoundly affected by the Taoist thought of *shenxian*, it is a commendation to say someone is a *shenxian*. And to those people who looked like a *shenxian*, the looker always sighs with wonder (*tan* 歎), out of admiration. Though the original gist of Lao-Zhuang’s doctrine about “preserving life”(yangsheng 養生) is to pursue the state of having no desire and doing nothing and to be spontaneous, Huang-Lao Daoism 黃老道家 in Qin and Han was impacted by the Shenxian Daoism 神仙道教, and the naive and natural thought of preserving life developed into the pursuit of immortality or longevity (*changsheng* 長生)¹⁸. A great number of people in Wei-Jin took drugs and talked about the practice of preserving life, which were illustrations of exploring and pursuing immortality. Even if they knew it was impossible to be a *shenxian* in essence, the resemblance in appearance could help them gain admiration and commendation.

The Confucians, who prefer the beauty of yanggang 陽剛, generally do not appreciate men’s effeminacy; in other words, they do not expect men to be as weak and mild as women. “The Appearance and Behavior” chapter describes Huan Wen 桓溫 as “ temples seem like hedgehog fur, eyebrows looks like amethyst

timber, he can be classified to the rank of Sun Zhongmou 孫仲謀 and Sima Xuanwang 司馬宣王”¹⁹. Interestingly, Yulan 樂覽 396 cites an amusing anecdote about Xuan Wen from Yulin 語林:

Proud of his masculine look (*xiongzi* 雄姿), Huan Wen aspired to the rank of Sima Xuanwang and Liu Yueshi 劉越石, and was dissatisfied when people compared him with General Wang who was often called “pearl-jade”. One day, he returned from the north after defeating Fu Jian 苻堅. He captured an old servant-girl who was Liu Yueshi’s prostitute. Tears trickled down her cheeks when the girl saw Huan Wen and Wen asked why, the girl answered “You look like my Liu Sikong”. Wen really rejoiced. He went out of the room, made his clothes and hat neater and came in again, asking the girl, “Where do I resemble Sikong?” The girl answered in a regretful voice: “The eyes, but yours are too small; the face, but too thin; the beard, but too red; the shape, but too short; the voice, but too effeminate”. Hearing this, Huan Wen took off his clothes and hat and slept in bed in depression. He remained dispirited for several days.

We can see from this story that masculinity is really important to Huan Wen. Yu Jiaxi assumes that this anecdote is not reliable and Wen is actually especially masculine because people in late East Jin detested Wen who called himself formidable man (*xiaoxiong* 梟雄) and tried to usurp the throne, and thus fabricated the rumor to slander him.²⁰

The competitive and positively aggressive Confucians command a masculine look and feel for men, and are thus shamed to have a feminine voice and thin face. The famed scholars in Wei and Jin adore the beauty of *yinrou*, which implies in some sense that they accept the theories about weakness from Laozi and Zhuangzi. The spirit of *yinrou* is a fundamental characteristic of Taoist culture. In contrast, the Confucian value of *yanggang* and the Taoists consider *yinrou* as a universal rule of nature, society and interpersonal relationships; thus, everything is evaluated by the standard of *yinrou*. Therefore, it is not surprising that people in Wei-Jin use “moon and willow in spring (*chunyueliu* 春月柳)”²¹ to describe a man’s shape and show great envy.

Lao-Zhuang thought prevailed in the Wei and Jin period, just as it is recorded in *The Biography of Xiang Xiu in Jinshu* 晉書, “The Confucian and Mo schools were gradually depreciated and the Taoist school became prosperous”. The seven sages in bamboo grove (*zhulin qixian* 竹林七賢), represented by Ji Kang 嵇康 and Ruan Ji 阮籍, led the learning and social trends of that time. They put forward the thoughts of Laozi and Zhuangzi both in theory and practice. Many famous scholars liked reading and studying Lao and Zhuang, such as Guo Xiang²², Wang Yan 王衍²³, and He Yan²⁴.

Additionally, on the basis of *The Separate Biography of Jie* 玠別傳, Wei Jin, killed by excessive watching, also “had fame and rationality when he was young, and mastered *Zhouyi* and *Laozi* . (“Yanyu” 言語) in *A New Account of Tales of the World* writes, “At first, tens of people annotated Zhuangzi, but none of them could explore its gist or essence while Xiang Xiu elucidated its meaning with marvelous analyses in the light of the old annotation and contributed to the prosperity of “Abstruse learning (*xuanxue* 玄學)”.

Such a great number of people love Zhuangzi that to a certain extent we can even say that scholars of abstruse learning pay more attention to Zhuangzi than to Laozi and *Zhouyi* 周易. Compared with Laozi and *Zhouyi*, Zhuangzi deals more with issues about life and how to roam (*xiaoyao* 逍遙), for instance, how to treat life and death, and how to surpass reality to be a Holy Man or *zhiren* (至人), which are concerns of the old and powerful families in the Wei and Jin period²⁵. The Guye Holy Man in Zhuangzi is a typical example of someone who enjoys free and easy wandering and his image possibly will exert an impact on the aesthetic attitude of his followers who seek an ideal state of free and easy wandering.

The followers of Laozi and Zhuangzi in Wei and Jin assimilated the doctrine of spontaneity (*ziran* 自然) and *weiwu* 無為, as said by The Biography of Wang Yan in *Jinshu*, “In Zhangshi 正始 period of Wei, He Yan, Wang Bi and so on traced their doctrine to Lao and Zhuang, set forth the argument that the myriad thing are all based on the *wuwei*”. Consequently, as the means of the Dao, the theory of weakness is also absorbed by those people. With such a philosophical background, there is no wonder about people’s appreciation of *rouuo* in Wei and Jin.

3.0. CONCLUSION

It is not accidental that the holy man on Guye Mountain that Zhuangzi constructs is featured as effeminate. Inheriting his forerunner's literary outcomes, Zhuangzi created a charming literary image and turned it into a philosophical symbol in a sense. By means of creating a pure, young girl, he sets up a beauty of ideal personality that is branded with the purity of discarding mundane turbidity. The beauty of *yinrou*, which the Holy Man embodies, reflects the Taoist doctrine of weakness. During the Wei and Jin period, when Taoist thought prevailed, the image had an impact on how people were evaluated, which reveals their assimilation of appreciating *yin* 陰 and *you* 柔 from Laozi and Zhuangzi. To conclude, I argue that in certain occasions, if we see a literary image as a metaphor for a certain philosophical concept or doctrine, the reading and analysis of such an image will bring out more interesting and thought-provoking explorations.

NOTES

1. Concerning the author of *Zhuangzi*, most scholars agree with the viewpoint of Feng Youlan 馮友蘭 in *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* that both *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* "are really collections of Taoist collections of Taoist writings and sayings, made by differing persons in different times, rather than the single work of any one person. Here in this paper, I regard the authors of *Zhuangzi* as ONE single person, which will not harm the theme, but facilitate my statement.
2. Zhu Xi 朱熹, *Shi jizhuan* 詩集傳. p. 36.
3. The explanations to *Zhuangzi* of Guo Xiang, Cheng Xuanying 成玄英, Lu Deming 陸德明(*Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文) and Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 in this paper are all based on Guo Qingfan's *Zhuangzi jishi*, so far the best edition of *Zhuangzi*.
4. Cheng Xuanying's explanation in *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋. p. 28.
5. Yuan Ke 袁珂, *Zhongguo shenhua tonglun* 中國神話通論. p. 127.
6. *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋, p. 28.
7. Yuan Ke 袁珂, *Shanhaijing jiaozhu* 山海經校注. p. 318.
8. *Shanhaijing jiaozhu*, p. 50.
9. *Shanhaijing jiaozhu*, p. 442.
10. "The Fusion of The Two Myth Systems of Kunlun and Penglai in *Chuci* and *Zhuangzi*" 《莊子》和《楚辭》中崑崙和蓬萊兩個神話系統的融合. *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Press, 1979), Issue 2, p. 73.
11. *Shanhaijing jiaozhu*, p. 324.
12. Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji*, 史記. Juan 28.
13. Lu Xun 魯迅, *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilue* 中國小說史略 in *Luxun quanji* 魯迅全集. p. 11.
14. In this paper, Wang Bi's annotations to Laozi are all based on Lou Yulie 樓宇烈's *Wang Bi Ji jiaoshi* 王弼集校釋(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980).
15. Cheng Xuanying's explanation. *Zhuangzi jishi*, p. 1066.
16. Allan, Sarah. (1997). *The Way of Water and the Sprout of Virtue*. Albany: State University of New York Press. pp. 54-6.
17. Something like a horsetail whisk for famed scholars to hold when they are talking about the Pure.
18. Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *Taoism and Chinese Traditional Culture* 道教與中國傳統文化. p. 72.
19. Both Sun Zhongmou and Sima Xuanwang are known as masculinity.
20. Yu Jiaxi 余嘉錫, *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 世說新語箋疏, p. 622.
21. Appearance and Behavior in *Shishuo xinyu*: Someone extolled at Wang Gong's beauty, saying "as graceful as the moon and willow in spring".
22. "The Biography of Guo Xiang" in *Jinshu* 晉書: He had cultural talents and rationality when young, fond of Laozi and Zhuangzi, and could make pure talk (*qingyan* 清言).
23. The annotation of *Jinzhonglun* 晉記總論 in *Wenxuan* 文選, juan49, cites Wang Yin 王隱 *Jinshu*, "Wang Yan did not work on scriptures or history, only talked about Zhuang and Lao to confuse other people".
24. "The Biography of Cao Shuang" 曹爽 in *Weishu* 魏書, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志: He was famous for his brilliant talents since young, liked Lao and Zhuang, wrote *The Morals and tens of wenfu* 文賦.

25. Tang Yijie, Guo Xiang yu weijin xuanxue 郭象與魏晉玄學. p. 174.

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THE DISCUSSION ON BUILDING A HARMONIOUS LANGUAGES SOCIETY IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT

The present paper analyses historical linguistic experiments and the contemporary linguistic situation in China and discusses how to build a linguistically harmonious society. The construction of a society of harmonious languages can be studied from two angles: the micro- and macro-angle. The Micro-angle covers language standardization and language civilization; the Macro-angle covers how to settle the inconsistency between languages and dialects. This study discusses the origin, concept, and value of a linguistically harmonious society. I hope to provide cues to language policymaking and address social problems.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Language circumstances in China are very complex. In addition to the Han, (the major ethnic group), there are also 55 minorities in China, all of whom speak hundreds of different languages. Particular language inconsistencies still affect Chinese society, although traditional language policies have made great achievements. Inconsistencies between the mother tongue and foreign languages, and between modern mandarin and associated dialects, have recently emerged. Dealing with the problem of inconsistencies in language is very important, because the unforeseen consequences may be substantial. Faced with pluralism in the modern era, many countries are trying to adopt effective language policies which acknowledge multilingualism. On the basis of building a harmonious society in the political field in China, linguistically harmonious societies are also discussed in academia. Both a theoretical and practical value exists in studying the construction of a linguistically harmonious society. In my opinion, on the one hand, standard and civilized communication is the goal and demand of an orderly and healthy language. On the other hand, it's better to understand what is at stake in linguistic inconsistencies. Effective measures should be adopted to address language contexts in China.

I reviewed literature on Chinese language planning and policy after 1949. In addition, I studied scholars and officials' important and latest speeches at big conferences. In this paper, I try to follow the new direction of language planning and policy in China. This paper is significant not only because it provides a timely analysis of language planning and policy in China, but also because developments in contemporary China allow us to consider how to address the language problem.

I will begin with a brief explanation of the theories on a harmonious society in China. An overview of traditional language policies will be given after the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. Then, the current language situation in China will be introduced. Finally, the possibilities of a linguistically harmonious Chinese society will be explored.

2.0. HARMONIOUS SOCIETY

The promotion of a linguistically harmonious society is related to an overall harmonious society in China. President Hu Jintao proposed the concept of building a harmonious society in 2002. The concept of a harmonious society was first proposed in detail on February 19, 2005 during the 2005 National People's Congress. President Hu gave the following meanings of a harmonious society: A harmonious society should feature democracy, the rule of law, equity, justice, sincerity, amity and vitality. Such a society would provide a platform for people's talents and creativity, enable all people to share the social wealth brought by reform and development, and forge an ever closer relationship between the people and government, and between man and nature¹. To build a Harmonious Society (héxié shèhuì 和谐社会) is the current and dominant socio-economic goal, which is to be achieved using Hu Jintao's signature ideology of the Scientific Development Concept². These ideals redirect China's focus from economic growth to overall societal balance³. How to comprehend and build a harmonious society is being discussed ardently not only in politics but also in other fields in China such as merchant economics, culture, philosophy, religion, moral, ethic, people's communication, and so on. Even the current fastest train in China was named "Harmony". The name of the torch relay of 2008 Olympic Games

was named “The Journey of Harmony”. “Harmonious” (héxié) is presently one of the hottest words in China. A search for “Héxié” in the search engines baidu (www.baidu.com) and google (www.google.com) yielded 61,900,000 and 117,000,000 results respectively (April 2, 2008).

3.0. TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE POLICIES IN CHINA

3.1. The Language Field

When the People’s Republic of China was founded in 1949, only 5% of the population was literate. In addition, there were many regional and minority dialects, many of which are still not widely understood today. Faced with these situations, China’s government adopted certain language policies. Zhou Enlai, the first Premier in P.R.C., summed up the three principal tasks of language reform: the promotion of Putonghua, the simplification of characters, and the development of the Pinyin System.

3.2. Promoting Putonghua

Putonghua is the most commonly spoken language of the modern Han group, the lingua franca of all ethnic groups in the country. The standard pronunciation of Putonghua is based on the Beijing dialect. Putonghua is based on the Northern dialects, and grammar policies are modeled after the vernacular used in modern Chinese literary classics (Zhou Youguang, 1979:98). However, subscribing to this vernacular is not a kind of monolingualism. The purpose of promoting Putonghua is to make people understand each other through a common language, and not to destroy other minority and regional languages. The minority groups have a free right to speak their own languages.

3.3. Simplification of Characters

In 1954, the Ministry of Education for the P.R.C. assigned a Committee (Committee for the Reform of the Chinese Written Language) to reform the written language. Traditional characters have been used for thousands of years in China. After nationwide discussion, the government proceeded to implement character simplification along two lines: reduction in the total number of characters and reduction in the number of strokes in individual characters (Defrancis 1986:260). The Law of the People’s Republic of China on the National Common Language and Characters, which was put in practice on January 1, 2001, implements simplified Chinese as the standard script, and relegates Traditional Chinese to certain uses and purposes such as ceremonies, cultural purposes (e.g. calligraphy), decoration, publications and books on ancient literature and poetry, and research purposes. Traditional Chinese remains ubiquitous on buildings predating communist rule, such as former government buildings, religious buildings, educational institutions, and historical monuments. Traditional Chinese is also often used for commercial purposes, such as shop front displays and advertisements.

3.4. Development of Pinyin System

This Committee for the Reform of the Chinese Written Language developed Hanyu Pinyin based upon existing systems of that time (Gwoyeu Romatzyh of 1928 and Latinxua Sin Wenz of 1931, both of which use the diacritical markings from Zhuyin). Pinyin uses the Latin alphabet to represent sounds in Standard Mandarin. The status of Pinyin was defined as an auxiliary notational system. People were encouraged to learn characters via Pinyin.

4.0. CURRENT LANGUAGE SITUATION IN CHINA

A half century has passed since the P.R.C. was founded, so what is happening to languages in China? The Hanyu Pinyin system was adopted in 1979 by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) as the standard romanization for modern Chinese (ISO-7098: 1991). It has also been accepted by the Government of Singapore, the Library of Congress, the American Library Association, and many other international institutions. It has become a useful and dominant tool for entering Chinese language text into computers. Those Chinese speaking Standard Mandarin use pinyin to help not only children but also foreigners to associate characters with their phonetic sounds. A promotional week for Putonghua was also subsequently developed. In December 2004, the first survey of language use in the People’s Republic of China revealed that only 53% of its population, about 700 million people, could communicate in Standard Mandarin. In terms of the latest research, there are 129 languages in China (Sun Hongkai, 2007).

Now I will review the current inconsistent language situation in China from two angles: a micro-angle and a macro-angle.

4.1. Micro-angle: Language Unstandardization and Uncivilized Language

China is in a period of huge economic, social, cultural and epistemological change. In particular, China's language life is becoming more and more colorful. New terms and word usages appear almost daily, and they are spread at prodigious speeds via the Internet; these phenomena prove that China's language life is full of energy and activity. However, a coin always has two sides. Negative language phenomena appear as well as positive phenomena. Some people often misuse Chinese phonetics and grammar. Wrongly written characters are seen everywhere. Some young people use new terms too freely specifically because of their novelty.

Uncivilized language means language prejudice and language violence. Some people look down upon different regional dialects. They think some dialects are rustic and illiterate. They laugh at people who speak those dialects, such as the Henan dialect. Some media outlets have been reporting on violent or inappropriate language usage on purpose in order to attract more readers or audiences, especially in sports and entertainment news. Additionally, certain media hosts speak rudely and vulgarly in order to capture the attention of audiences. The organization "Children Peaceful Activity in China" conducted a survey of campus violence and reported that the three biggest linguistic harms are linguistic insults, peer violence and sports injuries. Thereunto, according to the children interviewed, linguistic insults are the most serious (Pu Zhizhen, 2006).

On one hand, some sociologists argue that social or other factors lead to language misuse; on the other hand, it cannot be denied that language use also influences society. These language prejudices and violence influence people's feelings deeply. If this trend continues, it may destroy peace and solidarity.

4.2 Macro-angle: inconsistencies among Chinese, foreign language, and dialects.

Firstly, inconsistencies between Putonghua and dialects have recently emerged. Since Putonghua began to be promoted in 1956, China has achieved success to some extent. However, the dying out of some regional dialects and minority dialects has been unanticipated. Some dialects are becoming stronger because of economics; at the same time, some dialects are becoming weaker: Cantonese and Shanghaiese are good examples of the former, and Pinghua in Guangxi and Manchu of the latter.

Secondly, the inconsistencies between the mother tongue and foreign languages are becoming more distinct. A lot of money and time is invested in language teaching and learning, by parents and students as well as teachers, but high investments lead to low outputs. Actually, English is seen as offering the possibility of instrumental gains in terms of entry into higher levels of education and employment, and subsequent upward social mobility; English thus has become an economic commodity (Heller, 1999). It seems there are almost no exceptions around the world. Listening and speaking competence were neglected in China for a long time, and high scores in the English examinations are the only and most important goal for most Chinese students, teachers, parents, and education institutions. Students are unable to show proficiency in English even though they have studied English for a large number of years because of varied reasons. Because dissatisfied English learners cannot meet English language proficiency requirements, many are becoming depressed. It takes students a long time to study foreign languages, which leaves them little time to study Chinese. In other words, they do not care about their mother tongue. Chinese attrition cannot be definitively avoided. May Chinese hold the stereotypical view that because Chinese is the mother tongue, Chinese citizens do not need to spend much time studying it. Any Chinese can acquire the Chinese language. A renowned scholar said "solecism can be found easily in the PhD dissertation corpus in the National Library."⁴ Due to this plight, some men of insight are attracted to the slogan: save our mother tongue. The Chinese should put more emphasis on studying and learning the "mother tongue" while simultaneously promoting the learning of foreign languages.

In addition, a shortage of those studying other foreign languages begins to unfold because English is a "hot" language, meaning that more and more people want to master English around the world. In many people's views, foreign languages are to some extent only English. Other foreign languages, such as Russian, Spanish, French and so on, are addressed as "small languages". Not many students like to study them. In the global and market economy context, the supply for "small languages" exceeds demand.

5.0. BUILDING A HARMONIOUS LINGUISTIC SOCIETY IN CHINA

Scholars and officials have tried to cope with the current language situation in China. The focus on building a linguistically harmonious society sharpened after 2006. Li Yuming, the Director-General and President Department of Language Information Administration Institute of Applied Linguistics of Ministry of Education, is the first scholar and government official to emphasize a linguistically harmonious society. His approval triggered heated debates on building a harmonious society in China among scholars and language policy makers.

The officials of the National Committee of Language and Character also began to call for building a harmonious society at many important conferences in 2006. The goal of the Chinese society in the new century is to build a linguistically harmonious society, which was proposed formally at the 15th National Scientific Research Conference in November 2006.

Zhao Qiping, the vice minister of the Ministry of Education and the Director of National Committee of Language and Character, delivered a report on "Building a harmonious languages life is our common task" at the 2008 national language and character conference on February 28, 2008.

5.1. What is a Linguistically Harmonious Society?

In some sense, linguistic harmony refers to linguistic diversity, including the mother tongue, dialects, and foreign languages. It also means respecting and protecting people's language rights. We can tentatively say that linguistic harmony is a kind of "multilingual and multidialectal" life; diversity leads to prosperity. A multilingual policy was implemented after the P.R.C was founded in 1949. However, multilingualism was not specifically proposed at that time. The proposals for a harmonious society owe its heritage and development to traditional language policies in China. They are aligned with the three great language policies: the promotion of Putonghua, the simplification of characters, and the development of the Pinyin System. In a nutshell, a linguistically harmonious society is people-oriented.

The promotion of a linguistically harmonious society reflects a new viewpoint on language, which is advanced and also in accord with the current trends in China as well as the world. Languages are not an intractable "problem". Language does not hinder the progress of society. Building a harmonious society is China's goal and ideal at the present. The key issue is how to build a linguistically harmonious society. The relationships among languages can be harmonized via state policy and national language schemes. Linguistic harmony comes forth when relations are well handled and each language can function properly.

Li Yuming (2007) argued that in order to fulfill the goal of a linguistically harmonious society, we should: view our languages, dialects, and foreign languages from a language resource perspective; view varied language problems with a scientific and patient attitude; increase the promotion of Putonghua while other dialects are still respected; develop resources for bilingual education in minority dialects and Putonghua on the premise of equality. (Li Yuming, 2006:2) Language is a natural resource, but it cannot regenerate like other common resources. Once a language dies out, the attendant culture will disappear. We should protect and explore linguistic resources. Language is also an important cultural resource for a country; it is looked at as an important part of national "soft strength" (Li Yuming, 2007b). More and more people are beginning to realize that language is not static. Language cannot be governed, but must instead be led. When a new language phenomenon appears, we should not make hasty judgments about whether it is right or wrong.

China's government advocates the building of a linguistically harmonious society, which is based on politics, economics, and other factors. Calling for the building of "a linguistically harmonious society" has not only a theoretical, but also a practical meaning. Constructing a harmonious society requires a harmonious linguistic environment and vice versa. A linguistically harmonious society will certainly contribute to the building of a harmonious society as a whole.

5.2. We can Inspect Values of Building a Linguistically Harmonious Society from Two Perspectives.

On one hand, great theoretical value exists in building a harmonious society. It can contribute to language planning; it is also a part of the whole theory of a harmonious society. On the other hand, the practical value is also obvious. Building a linguistically harmonious society is a part of building a harmonious society,

which is a systemic process. It can facilitate language civilization, advances in culture, and societal progress, all of which contribute to expediting the building of a harmonious society. Therefore, certain steps may be adopted as follows: Strengthen foreign language instruction on the premise that the mother tongue is respected adequately; protect people's language rights; protect endangered languages and dialects; address the relationship between language standardization and language development; address the relationship between language diversity and language domination.

In my opinion, we also should absorb the successful experiences of other nations. Schutz (1994) writes that in 1982, the Department of Maori Affairs established a program to teach the Maori language to preschool Maori children. Named Ngā Kōhanga Reo, or "language nests", this program was designed to expose infants to a daily Maori language environment for four to five years. Because the retrieval of extinct and endangered languages and dialects is also a very urgent need in China, the experience of the Maori is worth considering. Some traditional teaching methods, which often emphasize writing and reading, should be updated in order to fulfill the new requirements which put emphasis on listening and speaking.

We should propagandize national language policies, especially the law of the People's Republic of China on the National Common Language and Characters, in order to lead linguistic life in a harmonious and healthy direction. China should seize the opportunity to improve its language environment, especially in advance of the 2008 Olympics Games.

6.0. CONCLUSION

Building a linguistically harmonious society is a great goal, and should become a great practice in the history of China. Language planning often aims to influence non-linguistic behavior as well as linguistic behavior and in this sense, language policy is increasingly explored as social policy (Cooper, 1989; Tollefson, 1991). Promoting a linguistically harmonious society is not only important because it addresses language problems, but also because it impacts the whole of society. The goal of a linguistically harmonious society policy is to find the best balance between languages in order to promote social and economic development, and not to force language conformity. Language should exert an influence on national development and foster a nation's integration with the rest of the world. However, the idea is new, immature, and deficient in various ways. Although China has a long road to travel, China should adapt effective measures to make the implementation of linguistic policies prosperous.

NOTES

1. http://english.people.com.cn/200506/27/eng20050627_192495.html
2. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scientific_Development_Concept The Scientific Development Concept (traditional Chinese: 科學發展觀; simplified Chinese: 科学发展观, Pinyin: Kēxué Fāzhǎn Guān) is the current official guiding socio-economic ideology of the Communist Party of China incorporating sustainable development, social welfare, a person-centered society, increased democracy, and, ultimately, the creation of a Harmonious Society. It is lauded by the Chinese government as a successor and extension ideology to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Three Represents. Credit to the theory is given to current Chinese leader Hu Jintao and his administration, who took power in 2002. It is the newest brand added to the idea of Socialism with Chinese characteristics ratified into the Communist Party of China's constitution at the 17th Party Congress in October 2007.
3. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harmonious_society
4. Ren Jiyu. (2005), Boshisheng lunwen zhiliang xiajiang. [On decline of PhD dissertation]. Guangming ribao. Aug 25.

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SUPPLÉMENT AU DISCOURS DE L'OCCIDENT: LA DISSIMULATION DU MĀ'OHĪ CHEZ DIDEROT ET DANS LA PUBLICITÉ CONTEMPORAINE

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ABSTRACT

From the time of first contact between the French and the *Mā'ohi* (the indigenous people of the Society Islands in current French Polynesia) in the late 18th century, Tahiti gained a mythic, exotic status in the French literary imagination. Enlightenment philosopher Denis Diderot outlined his vision of utopian Tahiti in his *Supplement to the Voyage of Bougainville*, a fictional addition to the famed travelogue of French explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville. Notably, Diderot had composed the *Supplement* without having ever visited Tahiti. Amongst its most provocative ideas for a twenty-first century reader are that the *Mā'ohi* are at a more primitive stage of human and social development and, therefore, welcome the arrival of the more advanced and, hence, superior Europeans. The *Supplement* even seems to propose the intermixing of the two peoples to form a more superior race. Despite the passage of over two hundred years and the wave of post-colonial discourse spearheaded by Edward Said, the initial concepts voiced by Diderot are alive and well as demonstrated by a critical examination of advertising and publicity materials from key players in French Polynesia's tourism industry. Working from a post-colonial perspective, I trace the consequences of this Western discourse on the *Mā'ohi*, namely, in the dissimulation of *Mā'ohi* identity and the suppression of alternative, indigenous discourse. I therefore conclude that any knowledge on the *Mā'ohi* currently authorized by Western discourse should be reexamined from a contemporary, informed *Mā'ohi*-oriented perspective.

Sans même quitter l'écran de leur ordinateur, les voyageurs curieux de la Polynésie peuvent savourer un goût exotique sur la page d'accueil d'Air Tahiti Nui, ligne aérienne nationale de la Polynésie française. À chaque visite en ligne, on y voit une image séduisante. Chaque photographie bien soignée rappelle tout le romantisme à la polynésienne diffusé dans l'Occident: que cela soit une belle femme à moitié nue en *pareu* (pagne), le regard lointain et détendu, ou un homme au corps musclé et vigoureux à la pêche, ou des indigènes et des métisses tous heureux en couronnes de feuilles et en colliers de fleurs. Au dessous de ces images apparaît un slogan en français: «Le dépaysement commence avec nous» (Air Tahiti Nui, 2007). Le Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé indique que le dépaysement peut bien vouloir dire un voyage, «un changement de lieu» (n.d., def. A). Pourtant, il est difficile d'ignorer l'autre sens du dépaysement: «Désarroi d'une personne placée dans un cadre inhabituel, un milieu inconnu, une situation inattendue» (n.d., def. B). C'est celui-ci qui émerge en arrière-plan, face à ces images paradisiaques d'un paysage entre le réel et l'imaginaire. Car, dans le dépaysement, il peut s'agir aussi de désorientation ou de désarroi face à l'altérité. Ce dépaysement touristique à face cachée au 21^e siècle nous amène à nous interroger précisément sur le discours occidental sur la Polynésie.

Si nous suivons l'idée de l'anthropologue français Bernard Rigo qui affirme que ce discours sur la culture polynésienne est «identique à lui-même pour l'essentiel, depuis plus de deux siècles» (2003, p.18), nous pouvons donc constater que ces images du *marketing* touristique font partie du même discours collectif établi par les premiers explorateurs du 18^e siècle. Ces concepts apparaissent à travers l'ensemble de l'Occident, depuis la culture populaire jusqu'aux études anthropologiques soignées (p. 18). Dans chaque cas, la réalité de l'être polynésien et de sa culture restent incomprises. En remontant le corpus occidental de la Polynésie, nous voyons les mêmes représentations d'une culture qui demeure toujours étrangère, loin de toute réalité. Ainsi l'analyse de Rigo suit-elle l'optique postcoloniale qui commença avec le précédent radical mis en avant dans *Orientalism* d'Edward Saïd (2003).

Chacun à leur manière, Saïd et Rigo soulignent le rôle du texte, son pouvoir, et son influence dans le monde. Selon Saïd, «it seems a common human failing to prefer the schematic authority of a text to the disorientations of direct encounters with the human» (2003, p. 93). De cette façon, le texte fonctionne comme une lentille photographique qui déforme la réalité telle qu'on la perçoit. La préférence humaine pour l'autorité d'un texte, ce que Saïd appelle une «textual attitude», est favorisée devant l'inconnu mais aussi devant des situations où une expérience particulière semble prouver la vision de réalité que ce texte décrit (p. 93). De cette manière, l'influence du texte et de l'expérience vécue sur l'un et l'autre croît en puissance: «There is a rather complex dialectic of reinforcement by which the experiences of readers in reality are determined by what they

have read, and this in turn influences writers to take up subjects defined in advance by readers' experiences» (p. 94). Ainsi Saïd résume-t-il l'interaction complexe entre textes, connaissance, et perception de la réalité:

A text purporting to contain knowledge about something actual ... is not easily dismissed. Expertise is attributed to it. The authority of academics, institutions, and governments can accrue to it, surrounding it with still greater prestige than its practical successes warrant. Most important, such texts can create not only knowledge but also the very reality they appear to describe. In time, such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what Michel Foucault calls a discourse, whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it. This kind of text is composed out of those pre-existing units of information deposited by Flaubert in the catalogue of *idées reçues*. (p. 94)

Ainsi emploierons-nous le terme discours (*discourse*) pour décrire la force collective des *idées reçues* d'un groupe sur un autre groupe. Pour cet essai, nous pouvons donc définir le discours occidental comme le discours collectif produit dans l'Occident (l'Europe et l'Amérique du Nord) vers les autres régions du monde, comme la Polynésie. En fin de compte, ce type de discours culturel ne mène pas à la «vérité» mais plutôt à une représentation de son sujet (p. 21).

Dans la tradition littéraire française, le parcours du discours occidental en Polynésie se fixe depuis l'arrivée de Louis Antoine de Bougainville dans la baie de Hitia'a à Tahiti en 1768 (Peltzer, 2002, p. 19). L'explorateur français présenta les détails de sa rencontre avec la nouvelle culture dans son *Voyage autour du monde* (1771)¹. Dans un livre rempli d'observations météorologiques et de remarques sur la navigation, il obtint un grand succès grâce à deux chapitres, où il fit renaître à Tahiti les paradis mythiques de l'Occident. Il évoqua les noms d'Éden, des Champs-Élysées, et de la Cythère, l'ancienne demeure d'Aphrodite, et esquissa un portrait d'un beau peuple simple voué à l'amour et au plaisir. Denis Diderot fut l'un des lecteurs qui apprécia le récit de Bougainville. Fasciné par une description d'une société si différente, Diderot parcourut le paysage textuel proposé par Bougainville et en développa des concepts sur la civilisation dans son *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* (2002)². Cependant, Diderot ne possède pas la précision analytique de Montesquieu dans *De l'esprit des lois*. Son texte joue un rôle curieux et hésite entre la fiction et la réalité en insérant un supplément au *Voyage de Bougainville* avec des parenthèses théâtrales et intertextuelles. Pourtant, l'auteur propose une vision de l'évolution de l'être humain et de la société qui dépasse les bornes de la littérature et vise la vérité. En conséquence, le philosophe passe d'un récit de voyage sur Tahiti à la construction abstraite d'une société aux allures mythiques sous le voile omniprésent d'un Tahiti réel. Dans ses représentations méthodiques et réfléchies d'une culture qu'il connaît seulement à travers un texte, le *Supplément au voyage de Bougainville* de Diderot fait partie du discours occidental collectif qui a d'abord établi l'hégémonie à Tahiti et dans le Pacifique, et qui ensuite la soutient jusqu'à nos jours en dissimulant la réelle identité polynésienne.

Avant de nous lancer dans l'analyse, il faut d'abord définir les termes qui peuvent éclairer l'argumentation. Dans les discussions sur le Pacifique, les termes géographiques et culturels sont toujours source de confusion. On fait souvent l'erreur d'employer le mot Tahiti pour faire référence à l'ensemble des Îles de la Société ou aux cinq archipels de la Polynésie française³. En réalité, Tahiti réfère seulement à l'île. Ainsi, le mot *tahitien* s'applique-t-il à un habitant d'origine spécifiquement polynésienne. Évidemment, les conséquences du discours occidental qui visait Tahiti abordèrent les limites de l'île. Pour nous référer clairement à la population polynésienne de Tahiti et des Îles de la Société, nous emploierons le mot *mā'ohi*, d'usage commun en Polynésie française³. Sur le plan général, notre emploi du mot *mā'ohi* indiquera la population autochtone des Îles de la Société et ses intérêts culturels et sociaux, concept qui reflète les revendications autochtones et d'après la tendance des écrits contemporains sur la Polynésie française. Nous limiterons l'usage du mot *tahitien* au sens propre du mot ou en référence aux ouvrages de Diderot et de Bougainville. Par contre, nous utiliserons le mot *polynésien* au sens plus large, en comprenant toute la Polynésie.

Il est important de souligner que cet essai ne vise pas une discussion élaborée du discours *mā'ohi* sur l'Occident ou des revendications des *mā'ohi* du 18^e siècle jusqu'à présent. Notre but est plutôt de démontrer l'opération du discours occidental et son effet annihilant sur les *Mā'ohi*. D'autres travaux critiques ont discuté la suppression de la culture *mā'ohi* et le renouvellement culturel et identitaire. Dans *The Word, the Pen, and the Pistol: Literature and Power in Tahiti*, Robert Nicole (2001) a suivi le parcours littérature occidentale à Tahiti et les revendications *mā'ohi* contemporaines. Kareva Mateata-Allain (2003) a aussi décrit les bornes

socioéconomiques imposées sur la production littéraire *mā'ohi* aujourd'hui et l'effort remarquable parmi les écrivaines *mā'ohi* de s'exprimer et de diffuser leurs écrits malgré ces contraintes. En 2006, l'Université de Hawai'i-Mānoa publia *Vārua Tupu*, une édition spéciale de sa revue *Mānoa*, qui présente pour la première fois une anthologie de la littérature *mā'ohi* contemporaine en traduction anglaise. L'année de publication est édifiante : il fallait arriver au 21^e siècle avant que l'expression *mā'ohi* libérée arrive dans le monde anglophone et, plus particulièrement, à Hawai'i, un archipel polynésien qui partage un fort héritage commun avec les Îles de la Société. Afin de bien comprendre ce décalage culturel entre deux sociétés d'origine polynésienne, nous devons donc revenir au discours occidental et à la manière dont il continue à représenter les *Mā'ohi* aujourd'hui. L'influence de ce discours occidental nous permet de comprendre le parcours historique *mā'ohi* depuis le contact avec les Européens et la situation actuelle des *Mā'ohi* au 21^e siècle.

Pour situer les textes de Bougainville et de Diderot dans le discours occidental, nous les analyserons dans l'optique postcoloniale de Saïd dans *Orientalism* (2003). En étudiant le *corpus* occidental d'écrits sur ce que l'on appelle «l'Orient», Saïd observa la création d'une connaissance collective qui était devenue le système principal pour comprendre cet «Orient». Selon Saïd, la force de ce discours, qu'il appela l'orientalisme, se trouve dans les liens internes du discours qui lui permettent de maintenir son existence (p. 5). Les textes se réfèrent et donnent vie à un corps autoritaire difficile à éluder. Au fil du temps, ce discours s'imposa sur l'Orient réel, l'ensemble géographique et social qui existait hors des représentations occidentales, et, d'une certaine façon, le déplaça. En Occident, «l'Orient» fut d'abord représenté, ou même remplacé, par l'expression orientaliste. De plus, pour atteindre une connaissance de «l'Orient», il fallait d'abord passer par le filtre du discours dominant (p. 6). Ainsi «l'Orient» n'est-il qu'un produit de la pensée occidentale dominante.

Malgré cette artificialité, l'orientalisme exerce une véritable force dans le déroulement d'événements politiques et culturels et dans leur interprétation autorisée en Occident. Dans ce sens, l'orientalisme dépasse les bornes de la recherche, de la littérature, et de la politique. Il n'est pas toutefois un complot absolutiste qui vise à la suppression totale de «l'Orient» (Saïd, 2003, p. 12). En somme, l'orientalisme est:

a certain *will* or *intention* to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world; it is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power ... (p.12)

L'orientalisme en tant que discours fuse la connaissance, l'autorité, le pouvoir, et l'hégémonie. Il est important de rappeler ici que ni individu ni entité politique ou culturelle particulière en Occident ne contrôle directement la direction du discours. Il s'agit plutôt d'une force sociale qui exerce une influence inévitable.

On peut trouver de fortes similarités avec l'orientalisme à l'égard de la relation entre l'Occident et la Polynésie en général. Nicole précise que l'on ne peut pas transférer cette approche en tant que telle dans le contexte du Pacifique (2001, p. 8). Néanmoins, la démarche de Saïd, modérée par d'autres courants intellectuels modernes et de certaines traditions intellectuelles du Pacifique, peut éclairer la nature du discours occidental dans la région (Nicole, p. 13). Aussi procédons-nous avec le précédent établi par Saïd dans le fait que l'Occident exerce une influence discursive sur les *Mā'ohi* et les autres peuples autochtones du Pacifique.

Dans cette optique, Rigo (2003) dans *Lieux-dits d'un malentendu culturel* démontre l'étendue remarquable du savoir occidental sur les *Mā'ohi* et d'autres groupes polynésiens. Pourtant, lorsqu'on le met à l'examen, l'ensemble de cette connaissance ratifiée se révèle inventé. Le moyen d'analyse que l'orientalisme nous fournit permet d'interpréter la « contradiction » intellectuelle majeure qu'explique Rigo:

Or, plus on lit sur la Polynésie et plus une impression ambiguë se dégage. A la fois le sentiment que tout a été dit et celui que rien n'a été vraiment dit. La contradiction a, par nature, quelque chose de frustrant et de stimulant: il s'agit de comprendre. La raison en est finalement assez simple: des observations des premiers découvreurs aux doctes analyses de nos contemporains, c'est souvent les mêmes choses qui se disent. Une bibliographie considérable existe. Des auteurs d'horizons différents, aux méthodes et aux perspectives diverses, se sont penchés sur l'altérité polynésienne. Pourtant, il

faut en convenir, ce qui abonde, c'est moins la nouveauté que la répétition. Chaque observateur, sans doute, a-t-il son approche particulière et apporte-t-il une nuance pertinente mais, au final, peu de grandes révélations. Tout se passe comme si Wallis, Cook, Morrison, Ellis, Orsmond et Moerenhout avaient dit l'essentiel. Une telle remarque ne se veut pas polémique. Après tout, il est légitime que les premiers arrivés aient formulé l'essentiel puisqu'eux seuls disposaient, pour ainsi dire devant leurs yeux, de leur objet d'étude : la culture polynésienne. Ils n'avaient pas à la reconstituer. Reste qu'ils l'ont autant interprétée qu'observée. Faut-il alors en conclure que tout a été dit, qu'il n'y a plus rien de vraiment important à dire? Assurément pas. La pauvreté est dans l'objet ou dans celui qui regarde. Ce n'est pas l'objet qui se répète mais les observations incapables de tenir un autre discours, de porter un autre regard (pp.17-18).

Rigo présente la problématique énorme dans le discours occidental sur la Polynésie en soulignant la répétition de son *leitmotiv*. Il fait le bilan du discours : on ne dit rien de nouveau. Le problème demeure plutôt dans le regard de l'occident, ce qui fait parallèle au processus de filtration dans l'orientalisme. Quoique Rigo ne tente pas de mettre en œuvre un schéma à l'échelle invasive de l'orientalisme, nous pouvons encore voir la tendance commune entre les deux analyses : la dissimulation de l'objet du regard. Selon Rigo, le Polynésien devient dans la pensée occidentale une «présence-absence d'un être toujours décrit et jamais là» (p. 31) et se transforme dans un miroir créé par la recherche identitaire de l'Occidental, «un double inversé de lui-même, double fantasmatique qui ne peut rien lui apprendre ni de lui ni de l'Autre» (p. 31). Dans le contexte de la littérature sur Tahiti, le *Mā'ohi* existe à la fois partout et nulle part. Il se voit remplacé par le discours qui essaie de parler de lui et de le représenter.

C'est dans ce schéma que nous situons le *Voyage autour du monde* de Bougainville (2004) et le *Supplément* de Diderot (2002). Les deux textes font partie de la continuité d'idées de la pensée occidentale. En particulier, le rapport référentiel entre les deux textes met en évidence le processus par lequel la connaissance sur le *Mā'ohi* se crée jusqu'à nos jours. Dans l'introduction du *Supplément*, «Jugement du voyage de Bougainville», les deux personnages philosophiques anonymes, A et B, mettent en relief l'intertextualité directe avec le récit de Bougainville. En attendant le passage du brouillard, B s'intéresse à la lecture du récit de Bougainville. Diderot montre que le Tahiti dont on va parler vient d'un texte, ce qui suggère que ce Tahiti n'est qu'une création textuelle en elle-même. B insiste néanmoins notamment sur la factualité de Tahiti qu'on lit dans le *Supplément* :

B - Ce n'est point une fable, et vous n'auriez aucun doute sur la sincérité de Bougainville, si vous connaissiez le *Supplément* de son *Voyage* (2002, p. 11).

Diderot met en jeu à ce point le fait et la réalité. En fait, il existe deux suppléments: le *Supplément* actuel aux mains du lecteur et le *Supplément* de B que Diderot met en scène. De là A et B procèdent à trois représentations de Tahiti (les Adieux du Vieillard et deux conversations entre un aumônier et un chef tahitien, Orou) qu'ils interrompent par leurs commentaires et leurs conclusions.

Ainsi le *Supplément* dans son intégralité balance-t-il entre réalité et fiction. Peter Jimack démontre que le début et la fin du texte esquissent une relation intertextuelle avec deux contes de Diderot, *Ceci n'est pas un conte* et *Sur l'inconséquence* (1988, p. 12). Au cours de l'ensemble de trois textes, Diderot examine le concept des relations sexuelles, comparant l'artificialité de la fidélité en Europe aux mœurs sexuelles libres et utopiques de Tahiti (pp. 12-13). Jimack souligne aussi plusieurs aspects théâtraux du *Supplément*: le brouillard et la voûte de ciel qui apparaissent aussi dans d'autres textes et les discours des personnages, notamment celui du vieillard (p. 14). Il est donc difficile de localiser la voix narrative du texte, et par conséquent son sens, dans un seul personnage. Il faut alors examiner le texte entier en tant qu'ensemble pour arriver à l'opinion de Diderot (p. 19). Jimack souligne l'usage libre que Diderot fit de l'actualité historique en cherchant moins à éclairer la réalité tahitienne qu'à démontrer ses propres idées à travers un modèle qui lui convenait (p. 25). Le lien entre *Le Voyage autour du monde* et le *Supplément* mis à part, on peut donc tracer des rapports entre l'œuvre littéraire de l'auteur et la représentation théâtrale.

Pourtant, les recherches de Diderot ne libèrent pas le *Supplément* du rôle que le texte joue dans l'établissement du discours occidental sur Tahiti. Malgré l'aspect fictionnel évident du texte, Diderot suggère

encore que le Tahiti qu'il présente est réel. En comparant le bon sauvage de Rousseau et les tahitiens de Diderot, Allan Pasco avance que Diderot donne toujours l'apparence de la réalité dans son texte alors que Rousseau admet dans son *Discours sur l'inégalité* que son premier homme sauvage est une invention de sa propre pensée.⁵ De plus, Diderot modifie librement le reportage de Bougainville pour préserver son modèle utopiste de tout fait qui pouvait le déstabiliser (Jimack, 1988, p. 25). Tahiti devient donc un «laboratoire des idéaux européens» (Nicole, 2001, p. 70, ma traduction). La présentation du *Supplément* s'appuie sur la manipulation et du contrôle de Tahiti pour maintenir une position idéologique. Comme l'orientalisme, le discours occidental sur le Pacifique : «est [aussi] une certaine volonté ou intention de comprendre, et dans certains cas particuliers, de contrôler, de manipuler, d'incorporer même ce qui est un monde évidemment différent» (Said, 2003, p. 12, ma traduction).

Cela permet de tracer le développement de certaines idées clés dans le *Supplément* que Diderot trouve dans le récit de Bougainville. La fondation de l'optique de Diderot est un fil évolutionnaire où Tahiti appartient au passé de l'homme. Bougainville évoque la création chrétienne de l'homme et une nostalgie pour l'âge d'or: «Je me croyais transporté dans le jardin d'Eden ... partout nous voyions régner l'hospitalité, le repos, une joie douce et toutes les apparences du bonheur» (2004, p. 94). Pourtant, Diderot annonce la fin de l'Éden après l'introduction de l'Européen car, selon lui, la société européenne se trouve à l'avant de la société tahitienne dans le chemin du progrès:

B - La vie sauvage est si simple, et nos sociétés sont des machines si compliquées ! L'Otaïtien touche à l'origine du monde et l'Européen touche à sa vieillesse. L'intervalle qui le sépare de nous est plus grand que la distance de l'enfant qui naît à l'homme décrépit (p. 11; also cited in Rigo, 2003, p. 70).

Diderot compare l'avancement des sociétés au développement psychologique de l'être humain. Sa conclusion sous-entend que l'Européen est donc l'adulte, le *Mā'ohi*, l'enfant.

L'exemple le plus marquant dans l'emploi du texte de Bougainville se trouve avec le vieillard, le père du chef Ereti que rencontra Bougainville. L'observation de Bougainville décrit un homme dont l'âge avancé n'est pas marqué par des signes physiques, caractéristique d'un âge d'or qui est peut-être troublé par l'arrivée des Européens:

Cet homme vénérable parut s'apercevoir à peine de notre arrivée; il se retira même sans répondre à nos caresses, sans témoigner ni frayeur, ni étonnement, ni curiosité: fort éloigné de prendre part à l'espèce d'extase que notre vue causait à tout ce peuple, son air rêveur et soucieux semblait annoncer qu'il craignait que ces jours heureux, écoulés pour lui dans le sein du repos, ne fussent troublés par l'arrivée d'une nouvelle race (2004, p. 89).

Dans le texte de Diderot, la réaction du vieillard subit des changements subtils mais pertinents:

A l'arrivée des Européens, il laissa tomber des regards de dédain sur eux, sans marquer ni étonnement, ni frayeur, ni curiosité. Ils l'abordèrent, il leur tourna le dos et se retira dans sa cabane. Son silence et son souci ne décelaient que trop sa pensée: il gémissait en lui-même sur les beaux jours de son pays éclipsés (2002, p. 13).

La suggestion sur la pensée du vieillard («semblait») passe à un fait définitif («il gémissait en lui-même»). Selon Diderot, le «bon sauvage» voit que son époque idéale approche de sa fin. En suivant l'optique de Pasco (2001), nous pouvons voir comment Diderot modifie le récit de Bougainville pour avancer sa propre interprétation utopiste.

Pourtant, les recherches historiques nous indiquent une autre façon de comprendre le vieillard que Bougainville décrivit. L'explorateur anglais Wallis arriva à Tahiti un an avant Bougainville, en 1767. Pendant son séjour, son équipage tira sur des Tahitiens, ce qui provoqua plusieurs morts (Salmond, 2005, p. 172). Les chefs tahitiens avaient donc raison de se méfier de l'arrivée d'étrangers semblables à ceux qui étaient déjà venus. L'attaque de Wallis peut aussi modifier l'interprétation de gentillesse et d'hospitalité que Bougainville décrit. Anne Salmond indique que les violences sous l'ordre de Wallis rappelèrent à la société *mā'ohi* une prophétie du

18^e siècle qui prédisait une période de bouleversements sévères après l'arrivée d'un nouveau peuple (pp. 171-172). Le silence du vieillard peut donc indiquer une réticence politique à l'égard de ceux qu'il aurait pu considérer comme des envahisseurs ou des agresseurs comme Wallis. Ces faits mettent en relief l'importance de l'examen sociohistorique à l'égard des textes qui font partie du discours occidental.

Malgré leur appréciation des traits utopistes qu'ils dégagent des Tahitiens, Bougainville et Diderot mettent en avant la supériorité de l'Européen. On voit très vite une hiérarchie des races. Dans ses descriptions de deux types de Tahitiens, Bougainville énonce ses propres jugements tout en faisant l'étalage de quatre races : l'Européen, le Tahitien noble qu'il juge d'après l'Européen, le deuxième Tahitien, et le «Mulâtre» d'origine africaine (2004, pp. 109-110).

Malgré ces qualités communes déficientes des Tahitiens, Bougainville et Diderot font l'éloge de la femme tahitienne. À son arrivée à Tahiti, Bougainville est visiblement impressionné par la beauté des femmes. En quelques paragraphes, il transforme la femme *mā'ohi* d'être humain en «nymphé» et, finalement, en déesse: «La jeune fille laissa tomber négligemment un pagne qui la couvrait, et parut aux yeux de tous telle que Vénus se fit voir au berger phrygien: elle en avait la forme céleste» (2004, p. 87). Les vieilles femmes à part, Bougainville continue à remarquer la nudité et la beauté des femmes *mā'ohi* pendant son séjour. Il compare aussi leur beauté naturelle et celle, artificielle, des Européennes. Le but principal des femmes est le plaisir et la jouissance. L'acte sexuel devient un rite religieux: «Vénus est ici la déesse de l'hospitalité, son culte n'y admet point de mystères, et chaque jouissance est une fête pour la nation» (p. 94). Bougainville représente des mœurs sexuelles radicalement différentes de celles de la France sous l'Ancien Régime. A Tahiti, on offre apparemment les filles aux étrangers. L'infidélité n'est pas un crime. Il semble enfin que tout le pays exige qu'on se livre à l'expression amoureuse la plus ostentatoire. Bougainville fait le bilan des mœurs tahitiennes:

La polygamie paraît générale chez eux, du moins parmi les principaux. Comme leur seule passion est l'amour, le grand nombre des femmes est le seul luxe des riches. ... Ici une douce oisiveté est le partage des femmes, et le soin de plaire leur plus sérieuse occupation. ... L'air qu'on respire, les chants, la danse presque toujours accompagnée de postures lascives, tout rappelle à chaque instant les douceurs de l'amour, tout crie de s'y livrer (p. 115).

De nos jours il est difficile de confirmer la réalité de ce que les premiers occidentaux virent ou de comprendre en totalité les mœurs *mā'ohi* sans l'influence du discours occidental. Il faut aussi souligner que ce qui a été rapporté sur les comportements sociaux des *Mā'ohi* reflète l'interprétation de ceux qui les recueillirent⁶.

On voit une mise-en-action des opinions et des conjectures de Bougainville au sujet de la femme *mā'ohi* dans le *Supplément*. Dans l'entretien entre Orou et l'aumônier, le chef offre ses filles au religieux, ce qui lui cause une crise de mœurs. Le chef lui indique clairement: «Elles m'appartiennent et je te les offre; elles sont à elles et elles se donnent à toi» (2002, p. 20). Vers la fin du séjour, l'aumônier a des rapports sexuels avec toutes les filles d'Orou et même sa femme, ce qui lui apporte une jouissance honteuse, reflet de sa mentalité chrétienne. Tout ce qu'on connaît cependant de la femme *mā'ohi* est sa nudité et sa disponibilité sexuelle. Car elle n'a pas de voix. De cette façon, Diderot nous rappelle l'exemple de Flaubert et la femme orientale que présente Saïd: «[Flaubert] spoke for and represented her» (2003, p. 6).

En élaborant davantage le sens de l'entretien, nous constatons que Tahiti — en fait, toute la société *mā'ohi* — semble vouée au plaisir de l'Occident. C'est un Européen, Diderot, qui parle à la place d'un Tahitien, dont le grand désir est de donner ses filles et sa femme à son visiteur. Dans le *Supplément*, la supériorité de l'Européen lui permet de dominer sexuellement les *Mā'ohi* et lui accorde le métissage ethnique:

OROU - Plus robustes, plus sains que vous, nous nous sommes aperçus au premier coup d'œil que vous nous surpassiez en intelligence, et sur-le-champ nous vous avons destiné quelques-unes de nos femmes et de nos filles les plus belles à recueillir la semence d'une race meilleure que la nôtre (2002, p. 37, c'est moi qui souligne).

Dans cette optique, le *Mā'ohi*, étant donné son infériorité par rapport à l'étranger, veut améliorer l'état des générations suivantes en introduisant le sang européen. Après le départ du vaisseau français de Bougainville, la

société *mā'ohi* se voit modifiée sur le plan génétique. Quoique le but de l'entretien entre Orou et l'aumônier soit d'exposer les contradictions internes des mœurs européennes, il est difficile d'éviter cette conclusion.

De tous les personnages du *Supplément*, c'est seulement le vieillard de Diderot qui semble résister aux changements auxquels il assiste. Dans son discours dramatique, le père du chef lutte contre la transmission des maladies vénériennes et s'oppose à la conception d'enfants métissés qu'Orou propose. Dans un appel aux «malheureux Tahitiens» (2002, p. 14), il lance une critique vive des Européens qui rappelle Rousseau:

Nous sommes innocents, nous sommes heureux, et tu ne peux que nuire à notre bonheur.
Nous suivons le pur instinct de la nature, et tu as tenté d'effacer de nos âmes son caractère ...
nous sommes libres, et voilà que tu as enfoui dans notre terre le titre de notre futur esclavage
(p. 14).

La résistance *mā'ohi* se perd dans la présentation du bon sauvage qui va être absorbé malgré lui dans la vague de la civilisation européenne. Il faut souligner aussi que Diderot fait déplacer cette résistance à l'expression européenne: après sa lecture, A note dans le discours «des idées et des tournures européennes» (p. 17). Les deux anonymes se débarrassent vite du vieillard pour ne voir que l'hospitalité sexuelle qu'offre Orou. Par le déroulement du texte, il semble que Diderot suggère qu'une position anti-européenne n'est qu'une de ces «tournures européennes» (p. 17). Dans le reste du *Supplément*, Orou devient la voix *mā'ohi* dominante, ce qui représente une attitude d'ouverture et d'accueil vers l'Occident.

Malgré ses conjectures, Diderot n'arrive pas à développer une vérité absolue à la fin du *Supplément*. A et B ne conseillent pas l'adoption des mœurs tahitiennes, ou sauvages, en Europe. Pourtant, ils suggèrent encore que l'état sauvage attire toujours l'homme civilisé et nient la possibilité de l'inverse:

A - Ainsi vous préféreriez l'état de nature brute et sauvage?

B - Ma foi, je n'oserais prononcer ; mais je sais qu'on a vu plusieurs fois l'homme des villes se dépouiller et rentrer dans la forêt, et qu'on n'a jamais vu l'homme de la forêt se vêtir et s'établir dans la ville (2002, p. 48).

Devant un choix de société, ils semblent choisir un compromis entre les deux, ce qui donne l'impression de respecter les mœurs de chaque pays:

B - ... Disons-nous à nous-mêmes, crions incessamment qu'on a attaché la honte, le châtement et l'ignominie à des actions innocentes en elles-mêmes, mais ne les commettons pas, parce que la honte, le châtement et l'ignominie sont les plus grands de tous les maux. Imitons le bon aumônier, moine en France, sauvage dans Otaïti.

A - Prendre le froc du pays où l'on va, et garder celui du pays où l'on est (p. 50).

Si nous interprétons ce jugement de plus près, B semble suggérer qu'il est permis à l'Européen de pratiquer les mêmes actes sauvages que l'aumônier et de jouir de l'hospitalité tahitienne. Pourtant, ces deux options ne sont que des constructions occidentales. Elles n'ont rien à voir avec le Tahiti réel, mais exigent quand même l'existence d'un Tahiti réel. Nous sommes encore devant le «double inversé» de l'Occident que Rigo indique. Tahiti permet à l'Européen de transgresser les interdictions de sa propre société avec l'accord *mā'ohi* que représente Orou.

A cause de cette ambiguïté, le *Supplément* participe à la construction du discours occidental. Étant donné l'évaluation de l'Europe d'A et de B, on pourrait cependant avancer que Diderot ne s'intéresse pas du tout à Tahiti et qu'on ne doit pas donner de crédibilité à sa représentation de Tahiti. Pourtant, il est difficile d'ignorer l'inventaire accablant des faits sur Tahiti que Diderot propose, même si ceux-ci doivent être interprétés comme faux ou fictionnels:

1. Tahiti est un paradis terrestre.
2. La société *Mā'ohi* se situe à un stage moins avancé dans le chemin du progrès.
3. Le *Mā'ohi* est un enfant en comparaison avec l'Européen mûr.

4. Les *Mā'ohi* possèdent une beauté physique exceptionnelle. Pourtant, ils sont moins intelligents comparés à l'Européen.
5. La femme tahitienne s'intéresse au plaisir physique et à donner de la jouissance à l'homme. Elle laisse l'homme parler à sa place.
6. Les *Mā'ohi* accueillent l'arrivée des Européens.
7. Pour améliorer l'état des *Mā'ohi*, un métissage génétique avec les Européens est nécessaire.
8. La société *mā'ohi* va s'incorporer dans la société européenne plus avancée.
9. L'expression de tristesse à l'arrivée de la civilisation et l'idée de résistance allèguent une influence européenne, car le *Mā'ohi*, lui, veut le progrès.

À l'inverse, Bougainville mentionne d'autres aspects que Diderot n'inclut pas dans son portrait d'une société alternative: la religion, la technologie marine, les rapports politiques entre les îles, la guerre, ou le sacrifice humain. Ainsi Diderot dépouille-t-il son texte de traits plus complets de la réalité tahitienne inclus dans le récit de Bougainville, réalité composée grâce à ses observations au cours de neuf jours de séjour et de l'information offerte par Ahuturu, un Tahitien qui partit avec lui (Bougainville, 2004, pp. 112-113)⁷. Devant la force de ces idées, nous pouvons conclure que le *Supplément*, en tant que texte, opère indépendamment de l'intention hésitante de l'auteur. Imprimées et diffusées, les idées de Diderot feront partie du développement du discours occidental, une œuvre collective sur la Polynésie.

Au fil des siècles, ces idées ont subsisté au sein du discours occidental. Nicole note la capacité du discours à s'adapter pendant l'époque qui suivit la Seconde guerre mondiale : il prend de nouvelles formes pour maintenir son autorité, notamment dans le développement du tourisme, des médias, et de l'expérimentation nucléaire (2001, pp. 141-142). C'est pendant cette période que l'industrie touristique et l'économie coloniale s'emparent du mythe tahitien pour recueillir des bénéfices financiers (p. 155). En particulier, le discours, que Nicole qualifie de raciste, se réduit à quatre points: «Le soleil, la mer, le sable et le sexe» (pp. 155-156, ma traduction).

Par conséquent, nous pouvons reprendre le sujet du tourisme actuel en Polynésie française dans une continuité discursive. Nos sujets d'examen viennent de deux sources différentes qui ont de forts intérêts économiques dans le succès du tourisme en Polynésie française: Air Tahiti Nui, la ligne aérienne nationale de la Polynésie française et le G.I.E. Tahiti Tourisme. Ils s'expriment dans un assemblage puissant de texte et d'image qui reflète les mêmes idées principales du *Supplément* de Diderot.

De cette façon, les photographies promotionnelles sur le site Internet d'Air Tahiti Nui (2007) dépassent toute réalité du 21^e siècle et évoquent plutôt des visions paradisiaques, voire anhistoriques. Deux des cinq images qui apparaissent à la page d'accueil présentent une femme *mā'ohi*. L'une d'entre elles la montre s'allongeant sur un tronc d'arbre. Dans l'autre, une femme est dans un lagon couvert de fleurs, le regard lointain et rêveur. La troisième image montre une représentation du passé avec un homme en *maro* (ceinture traditionnelle) et une femme en *pareu* près d'une pirogue. La quatrième image présente une scène de fête sur une plage de Bora Bora. Assemblés autour d'un feu, les personnages sont habillés en vêtements traditionnels (*pareu*) ou en costumes plus modernes selon le goût «polynésien» (pantalon avec chemise hawaïenne). La dernière est la plus contemporaine du fait qu'elle montre deux hommes se préparant à mettre à l'eau une pirogue moderne à balancier. Soulignons que cette page sert de portail pour un public international. Air Tahiti Nui diffuse donc au monde entier des images qui suivent les interprétations de Bougainville d'il y a plus de deux cents ans.

Nous pouvons aussi relever un autre détail saisissant de cette page: la modification de sens dans le jeu entre mot et image. Les images idylliques changent de sens avec les slogans promotionnels qui apparaissent en trois langues différentes (français, anglais, et tahitien) en bas de page:

FRANÇAIS	Le dépaysement commence avec nous
ANGLAIS	Where the voyage begins («Où le voyage commence»)
TAHITIEN	To tatou manureva («Notre ligne aérienne»)
(Air Tahiti Nui, 2007, mes traductions)	

Chaque client potentiel est adressé d'une façon différente selon la langue. L'anglais et le français ont beau s'inscrire dans le domaine touristique, le français met en avant l'idée que la Polynésie française va offrir au touriste un nouvel état d'être. En tahitien, on a un énoncé bien différent. Le pronom possessif tahitien à la première personne inclusive du pluriel (*tō tātou*) indique qu'Air Tahiti Nui appartient à tout le monde, ce qui suggère que ces images font partie d'un héritage commun. Cet échange de sens montre la multiplicité du discours. Les slogans modifient le signe final dans la relation entre le signifiant (l'image) et le signifié (le slogan). Pourtant, on ne peut pas quitter le champ du discours. Le «dépaysement» du visiteur appartient au même plan que l'héritage invoqué par le «notre» tahitien (*tō tātou*). La promotion touristique efface l'histoire *mā'ohi* et la remplace par l'histoire autorisée par le discours dominant.

Les écrits touristiques témoignent de cet effacement de la réalité historique. Diderot se servit de la projection tahitienne afin d'avancer son commentaire historique. Le tourisme se sert également de cette même projection afin de préserver la situation économique qui lui bénéficie. Le site de la société Tahiti Tourisme, un groupement d'intérêt économique dont le siège est à Pape'ete, participe notamment à la modification du narratif *mā'ohi*. Tout est au service du touriste: «Dès son arrivée, le visiteur n'a plus qu'à accepter de recevoir et se laisser conquérir par tant de convivialité» (Tahiti Tourisme, 2006b). En fait, Tahiti Tourisme établit un rapport direct avec la représentation de la littérature européenne. La page «Témoignages du passé» cite des passages de Bougainville et un membre d'équipage du vaisseau célèbre *Bounty* (Tahiti Tourisme, 2006d). La dernière citation, prise d'une étude faite à l'Université de la Polynésie française, est la plus troublante. L'extrait vient d'un journal péruvien, présenté sans explication historique. L'écrivain partage la tendance qu'on voit chez Bougainville et Diderot de catégoriser les races, en jugeant les polynésiens supérieurs aux asiatiques.⁸ Nous ne savons pas si cet extrait est utilisé par manque de réflexion approfondie de la société Tahiti Tourisme ou par négligence. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'inclusion sans référence critique ou contextuelle de cet extrait que nous pouvons qualifier de raciste est troublante.

Le plus choquant est que l'on voit cette même expression discursive dans une diffusion officielle, celle du gouvernement. Dans ses recherches, l'internaute rencontre en effet les mêmes représentations dans les textes du gouvernement français. Le site web sur l'Outre-mer du ministère de l'intérieur, de l'outre-mer et des collectivités territoriales n'inclut pas une vision *mā'ohi* de l'histoire et tend à l'effacement de l'histoire *mā'ohi*. Sur sa page sur l'histoire de la Polynésie française, le ministère met seulement en relief l'arrivée des Européens et l'inclusion des archipels dans le territoire français (Secrétariat d'État à l'Outre-mer, 2008c). Les récits généalogiques *mā'ohi* ou les théories anthropologiques des peuples polynésiens sont absents, alors que le site de Tahiti Tourisme les mentionne dans sa discussion succincte du peuplement de la Polynésie (Tahiti Tourisme, 2006c). Le ministère répète aussi au 21^e siècle les mêmes descriptions idylliques du peuple *mā'ohi* qu'on trouve au 18^e siècle:

Les Polynésiens ont su préserver un style de vie en accord avec la nature. En dehors de la zone urbaine de Tahiti, la vie quotidienne des habitants est encore rythmée par les activités traditionnelles telles que la pêche, la culture des fruits, légumes et fleurs et un style d'habillement simple en short et pareu. (Secrétariat d'État à l'Outre-mer, 2008a).

Quelques différences de style et de vocabulaire mises à part, il n'y a pas de grande différence entre le texte du gouvernement et celui de Bougainville. Nous sommes à nouveau devant «la présence-absence» de Rigo (2003, p. 31).

La motivation de Diderot n'était évidemment pas la même que celle qui pousse le gouvernement ou l'industrie touristique. Le trait commun est leur utilisation du peuple *mā'ohi* pour maintenir leurs propres intérêts. Diderot critiquait l'hypocrisie morale au sein de la société européenne au 18^e siècle qui interdisait les actes qu'il considérait naturels. L'existence d'un Tahiti utopiste donnait le moyen d'attaquer les défauts qu'il déplorait dans son propre milieu. Ainsi privilégiait-il sa propre vision au sein d'une culture lointaine qu'il ne verrait jamais. Pourtant sa vision persiste toujours, enrichie par plus de deux siècles de contributions. Pour ceux qui ont un intérêt financier en Polynésie française, cette vision est devenue une ressource économique utile.

Après le 11 septembre 2001, la projection d'un coin de monde tropical, épargné du choc des violences, peut séduire ceux qui recherchent un havre loin des pressions modernes. Le gouvernement français maintient également sa présence et son contrôle dans le Pacifique en reléguant les citoyens français à un âge d'or. La

population majoritairement *mā'ohi* retenue dans l'ombre, le gouvernement et le secteur économique peuvent donc maintenir le contrôle sur un territoire océanien qui couvre une surface équivalente à celle de l'Europe (Secrétariat d'État à l'Outre-mer, 2008b). Après tout, si nos moyens de communication modernes donnent l'impression que les *Mā'ohi* «en accord avec la nature» vivent heureux et sans souci, pourquoi nous interrogerions-nous sur leur liberté politique ou leur survivance culturelle? Selon la division néo-zélandaise de Tahiti Tourisme, il semble bien que les *Mā'ohi* soient en voie de disparition et s'intègrent dans la formation d'une nouvelle race impressionnante:

The people of French Polynesia have integrated to produce a new race of stunning beauty; Polynesians, Europeans, Asians from China Vietnam, Africans from Madagascar and the Ivory Coast. In Tahiti, it seems that all people have intermarried and blended so that the concept of racism is unknown. ... The people of these islands are now authentically and naturally tricultural (Tahiti Tourisme, 2006a).

Ainsi le métissage d'Orou se maintient-il au 21^e siècle sur le plan discursif, à l'écart de tout fait statistique⁹. Le besoin de continuer le mythe pour attirer les touristes dépasse l'exigence de vérité empirique.

Un tel discours peut avoir des répercussions énormes sur la façon dont l'Occident considère le Pacifique en général. Selon Nicole, la pensée occidentale considère que l'océan Pacifique est utilisé comme un vide, un piège que même Saïd n'a pas pu éviter (2001, p.13). Les besoins occidentaux de l'époque moderne ont ainsi pu satisfaire leurs besoins multiples, que cela soit, par exemple, la détente (tourisme) ou le développement militaire (expérimentation nucléaire). Dans un vide, on peut faire ce qu'on veut. On peut aussi ignorer. Nourrie et soutenue par ce discours, l'hégémonie s'établit en dissimulant tout signe de résistance.

Qu'en est-il de l'attitude des *Mā'ohi* dans la diffusion du discours et leur attitude face aux manifestations de l'hégémonie étrangère, comme le colonialisme ou l'économie? Le discours occidental a souvent dépeint les *Mā'ohi* comme passifs dans le déroulement de leur propre histoire, mais la collaboration *mā'ohi* avec les Européens, ainsi que la résistance, est considérable (Nicole, 2001, p. 168). En fait, les relations entre les forces coloniales et les peuples colonisés sont marquées par le dynamisme (Saïd, 1994, p. xii). En suivant la pensée de Saïd dans *Culture and Imperialism* (pp. xii-xiii), nous pouvons considérer le discours occidental sur les *Mā'ohi* et le Pacifique faisant partie du narratif entier de l'Occident. Ce narratif a confirmé l'impérialisme dans les îles du Pacifique comme une étape nécessaire dans le dénouement des intrigues d'empires. Saïd nous rappelle le lien direct entre la culture et la nation:

As one critic has suggested, nations themselves are narrations. The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming and emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them (pp. xii-xiii).

Les récits de voyages suivent le parcours de nouveaux empires. Vibart indique que les voyages européens du 18^e siècle étaient souvent à la recherche d'un Continent austral (1985, p. 46-56). Il s'agit donc aussi de la conquête dans le *Voyage* de Bougainville. Depuis cet ouvrage jusqu'aux publicités séduisantes, nous lisons donc un narratif qui s'adresse plutôt au destinataire qu'à la réalité du sujet qu'il veut représenter.

A ce point, il faut souligner que nous n'avancions pas un discours qui représente chaque *Mā'ohi* comme victime et survalorise les efforts de résistance. Au cours de l'histoire, des membres de l'aristocratie *mā'ohi* (*ari'i*) s'allièrent avec des Occidentaux pour poursuivre leurs propres intérêts, et certains *Mā'ohi* modernes et *Demis* (métisse d'origine européenne et polynésienne) poursuivent leurs besoins et désirs dans leurs rapports avec les forces dominantes du pays (Nicole, 2001, pp. 169-170). Ces alliances ont joué un rôle important dans le maintien du discours occidental. En fait, le narratif *mā'ohi* est aussi complexe et nuancé que l'histoire de n'importe quel pays européen. C'est exactement ceci qui manque dans le discours occidental ou dans son inverse, le discours anti-colonial. En reconnaissant l'omniprésence du discours, nous pouvons enfin commencer à reconnaître et diffuser l'histoire *mā'ohi* et ses rapports avec ses cultures voisines de la Polynésie.

Notre devoir dans le cas des *Mā'ohi*, et de tous les peuples autochtones ou opprimés, est de mettre en examen nos *a priori* avant de formuler des hypothèses. En s'interrogeant sur les opinions et les connaissances des peuples colonisés, nous pouvons donc enrichir notre héritage mondial. Grâce à nouvelles recherches, on

considère maintenant que les peuples polynésiens maintenaient un contact entre eux dans les siècles passés malgré les distances énormes entre les îles du Pacifique, évidence qui brise les mythes et témoigne de leur savoir-faire (Wilcox, 2007). Il faut alors examiner à partir de l'optique autochtone les ouvrages actuellement autorisés par l'Occident. Nulle source d'information selon son contexte (historique, social, culturel, économique, etc.) ne peut donc s'imposer comme un fait. Étant donné le déplacement et l'effacement de l'histoire *mā'ohi*, nous ne pouvons pas non plus parler pour les *Mā'ohi*. Ce que nous avons plutôt évoqué, c'est l'obstacle discursif qui bloque la diffusion de leur histoire. Il faut maintenant les laisser parler.

Quoique notre examen se soit porté sur les ténèbres dans la pensée de Diderot, nous ne nous sommes pas égarés de la tradition des Lumières. Les philosophes nous ont sans aucun doute laissé le grand don de l'esprit critique en postulant de mettre toute idée à l'épreuve avant d'accepter un fait. Ne pas questionner les données culturelles, c'est comme croire les faux oracles que critiqua Pierre Bayle. Dans nos discussions et nos recherches sur les communautés différentes, il faut reconnaître le rôle de notre regard dans notre perception.

NOTES

1. J'ai aussi consulté l'édition publiée par Hugues de Fleurville, une reproduction d'une édition du 18^e siècle. Voir: de Bougainville, L.(1984). *Voyage autour du monde*. Paris: Hugues de Fleurville.
2. En 1772, Diderot écrit un compte-rendu positif sur le livre de Bougainville. Il développe ces premières idées quelques années plus tard dans son supplément (1773-1774, révisé en 1778, publié en 1796) (Jimack, 1988, p. 11).
3. Les Îles de la Société se composent de deux groupes: les Îles du Vent (dont les îles habitées sont Tahiti, Mo'orea, et Mai'ao) et les Îles sous le Vent (dont les îles habitées sont Ra'iātea, Taha'a, Huahine, Mai'ao, Bora Bora, et Maupiti (La Présidence de la Polynésie française, 2007). Les cinq archipels de la Polynésie française sont les Îles de la Société, les Gambiers, les Tuamotus, les Australes, et les Marquises (Secrétariat d'État à l'Outre-mer, 2008b).
4. Dans son dictionnaire, l'Académie Tahitienne (2007) fournit deux définitions: «ordinaire, indigène» et «qui est originaire de la Polynésie française». Steward, Mateata-Allain, and Mawyer (2006) précisent que *mā'ohi* dénote plutôt les polynésiens des Îles de la Société à cause des langues différentes des archipels.
5. Selon Pasco (2001): "In contrast, Diderot mixes truth and fiction without distinction, as though he has found Rousseau's in-between stage in Tahiti. Like Rousseau, he establishes an example through reason. He begins, however, by representing the contemporary reality of Tahiti. Unlike Rousseau, he does not explain the method of his creation, but rather he leaves the impression that the Supplement is based solidly in the reality of Bougainville's Voyage and is, thus, true" (p. 249).
6. Une des plus grandes sources d'information sur l'époque pré-européenne est Teuira Henry, qui avait l'énorme tâche de préserver des légendes, des chants, et des récits. Mais elle ne réussit pas à éviter l'influence étrangère. En effet, la source de tous ces écrits fut son grand-père, le missionnaire Orsmond qui écrivit et jugea les aspects de la culture qui le choquèrent. En réaction, Henry élimina ces éléments controversés dans son texte et transforma encore une fois la réalité *mā'ohi* de ce temps-là en ce qu'elle voulait présenter au monde (Babadzan, 1993, pp. 8-15).
7. Peltzer confirme les dates du passage de Bougainville à Tahiti: du 6 avril jusqu'au 15 avril 1768 (2002, p. 13).
8. Le site de Tahiti Tourisme utilise un extrait d'*El Comercio*, un journal péruvien du 19^e siècle, tiré d'un ouvrage de Christine Perez de l'Université de la Polynésie Française. Il faut souligner que Tahiti Tourisme ne cite pas le commentaire de l'auteur, juste la citation de l'édition du journal du 18 septembre 1862: «Pour vous donner une idée de la bonté de leur caractère, il suffit de dire qu'on les transportait dans une totale liberté; il n'était pas nécessaire de les surveiller comme les coolies asiatiques. Ces nouveaux immigrants sont d'une race infiniment supérieure aux chinois, physiquement et moralement.... Ils ont de très grands yeux foncés, leurs dents sont très blanches et leur apparente innocence et humilité donne une impression très favorable à qui les regarde» (Tahiti Tourisme, 2006d).
9. Selon le gouvernement français, la composition de la population de la Polynésie française (245 505 en 2002) est 83% polynésienne, 12% européenne, et 5% chinoise (Secrétariat de l'État à l'Outre-mer, 2008d). Nous pouvons donc estimer la population d'origine polynésienne à plus de 203 000.

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NAINS MYSTERIEUX DANS LES ROMANS DE CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES

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ABSTRACT

Chrétien de Troyes introduces the dwarf in some of his Arthurian Romances in the second half of the 12th Century. These dwarfs can be secondary characters, but they sometimes play a predominant role in the stories. It seems therefore appropriate to wonder who they are, and what function they play in these romances.

A study of *Erec et Enide*, *Le Chevalier au Lion* ou *Le roman d'Yvain*, and *Le Chevalier de la Charrette* ou *le roman de Lancelot* shows that the dwarf is never passive. He can play a foul active role as a provocateur for a knight. He can fill the reader with wonder when he is among the guests of the hero's wedding. He sometimes performs bravely and courteously, or, on the other hand, demonstrates unprecedented cruelty and ignominy. He can also be a mysterious trusted guide to another world, or a wicked traitor.

The role of literature was changing in the 12th Century, when the courteous ideal was being transformed in feudal society. The nobility tends to codify behavior, and the fictive universe of courteous romance offers an evasion. The ambiguity of the dwarf, his multiple representations, but above all his links to a long past of myths, legends and popular beliefs, allows him to behave free of impositions, to create an element of dramatization in the narrative, and to convey an oral quality in the romances of Chrétien de Troyes.

Too much importance is often ascribed to the dichotomy between oral and written forms. The study of the role of the dwarfs in Arthurian Romances could provide a link to merge both forms and enrich the study of medieval literature.

Comme l'indiquent Claude Lecouteux (1998) et Anne Martineau (2003), le nain est introduit dans le roman arthurien par Chrétien de Troyes dans la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle. Des nains apparaissent en effet dans trois des romans de Chrétien de Troyes: *Erec et Enide*, premier en date des romans arthuriens, *Le Chevalier au Lion* et *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*. Ils ne sont parfois que personnages secondaires, mais ils jouent le plus souvent un rôle déterminant dans les histoires contées. Il est donc approprié de se demander qui sont ces protagonistes et quels rôles ils jouent dans ces romans.

«C'est vers les années 1023-1050 qu'un nain est mentionné pour la première fois dans la littérature d'outre-Rhin, mais des textes non littéraires montrent que le personnage est connu bien avant cette date.» (Lecouteux, 1998, p. 37). Les nains que l'on rencontre dans les œuvres de la *Matière de Bretagne* ont cependant perdu la plupart des caractéristiques que possèdent ceux des romans médiévaux allemands. Peu d'études ont été effectuées sur les nains des romans arthuriens français. La première, réalisée en 1906 par le médiéviste allemand Fritz Wohlgemuth, les classe en deux catégories: créatures de l'Autre Monde (en petit nombre) et personnages réalistes modelés sur les nains des cours médiévales. Wohlgemuth avoue que certains nains tombent dans la catégorie des *inclassables* quand il ne parvient pas à expliquer leur présence ou leur rôle dans un récit. Un demi-siècle plus tard, Vernon J. Harward tente de démontrer que tous les nains des romans arthuriens français sans exception seraient des êtres surnaturels spécifiquement celtiques, descendants d'un unique dieu celtique, Bilis, dont le frère, Brien est un géant. Ses arguments ne sont cependant pas très convaincants. Les recherches de Claude Lecouteux l'ont amené à «admettre que les vocables que nous traduisons par «nain» et «géant» désignent des familles, des races d'êtres cohabitant au sein d'une même mythologie et ayant des rapports entre eux» (Ibid, p. 98). Lecouteux fouille le passé de plusieurs civilisations pour tenter de «répondre aux questions essentielles: qu'est-ce qu'un nain? D'où vient-il? Qu'incarne-t-il?» (Ibid, p. 17).

Dans ce dessein, il tient en compte les «échanges intenses qui ont lieu en permanence au sein des différents réseaux de monastères qui couvrent l'Europe et contribuent dans une large mesure à assurer l'unité culturelle de l'Occident.» (Ibid, p. 16). Il rappelle «que les hommes, les manuscrits et les nouvelles circulent» (Ibid) et «propagent l'information» et que des brassages ont eu lieu au Moyen Age en France et en Angleterre («stratification de cultures différentes, résultat des fluctuations historiques: grandes invasions, descentes de Vikings, installation de comptoirs commerciaux, colonisation de terres en friche...» (Ibid)). Lecouteux a essayé de «faire la part des gènes celtiques et germaniques dans les nains du Moyen Age» et de «discerner ce qui

relève de la pure littérature, du mythe et des croyances.» (Ibid, p. 17). Il conclut que le nain roman «est le fruit d'un amalgame de traditions celtiques et germaniques» (Ibid, p. 97).

Les recherches qui ont été menées sur l'origine des nains peuvent ainsi servir à expliquer en partie leur rôle dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes, mais il ne s'agit pas d'essayer de savoir quelles traditions orales ou croyances populaires étaient connues de Chrétien. Il suffit de savoir que la présence des nains dans ses romans est basée sur une mythologie et des croyances variées. Il s'agit plutôt d'examiner ces nains pour les connaître un peu mieux. Comme le dit avec humour Chrétien de Troyes dans *Erec et Enide*:

5565 tens gasteroie en folie;
 Mais je ne le vuil pas gaster,
 Ainçois me vuil un po haster,
 Car qui tost vait la droite voie
 5570 Passe celui qui se desvoie ;

 [Je gâcherais mon temps en futilités,
 Et cela je ne le veux pas;
 au contraire, je désire avancer plus rapidement,
 car qui se hâte de progresser en droite ligne
 dépasse celui qui s'écarte du chemin;]

Le premier nain dans *Erec et Enide* est au service du chevalier *Ydier*, fils de *Nut*. Il est armé d'une *corgie* (fouet de lanières nouées par un bout), dont il se sert pour frapper la *damoisele* (suivante) de la reine *Guenievre* et *Erec*, envoyés par la reine à la rencontre du chevalier. Ce nain sans nom «qui mout fu fel et de put'aire» (se montrant aussi perfide qu'ignoble, vers 170), tout comme son maître «mout felon et desmesuré» (plein de perfidie et de démesure, vers 228) est discourtois. Harward affirme, en s'appuyant uniquement sur la littérature ancienne, que les couples, formés par un nain serviteur et un grand chevalier, ne sont pas Belins et Briens (Harward, 1958, p. 61) comme l'a affirmé Wohlgemuth mais sont issus d'une «tradition dans laquelle des personnages dérivés de Belî et Bran apparaissent comme un nain et son parent de grande taille ou maître, qui sont hostiles aux intrus.» (Ibid, p. 51). Martineau, qui attribue à Chrétien de Troyes l'invention de tels couples, explique que «les couples maître-nain sont toujours rigoureusement assortis» et qu'«aux qualités et aux défauts d'un nain, on devine tout de suite les défauts et les qualités du maître qu'il sert. Le nain est le miroir de son maître». (Martineau, 2003, p. 48). Le maître est un chevalier et, portant ce titre ne peut agir discourtoisement. Cependant, non seulement refuse-t-il de plaire à la reine, dont il devrait respecter la volonté, mais il réitère son refus à travers son nain. Il semble donc que ce serait pour respecter les règles de la courtoisie et pour que le chevalier ne perde pas son statut que Chrétien fait agir pour la première fois un nain à la place de son maître, bien que l'un et l'autre représentent une seule et même personne.

217	Erec boute le nain ensus. Li nains fu fel, nuns nou fu plus. De la corgie grant colee	Erec bouscule le nain qui était perfide comme pas un. de son fouet, celui-ci l'a frappé
220	Li a parmi le col donee. Le col et la face a vergie Erec dou cop de la corgie; De chief en chief perent les roies Que li ont faites les corroies.	violemment au milieu du cou. Erec a le cou et la face tout lacérés par le coup de fouet; de part en part, apparaissent les traces que lui ont faites les lanières.
225	Il sot bien que dou nain ferir Ne porroit il mie joïr, Car le chevalier vit armé, Mout felon et desmesuré, Et crient qu'assez tost l'ocirroit	Il savait bien qu'il n'aurait pas la satisfaction de frapper le nain, car il vit que le chevalier était armé, plein de perfidie et de démesure; aussi craint-il d'être rapidement tué par lui,
230	Se devant li son nain feroit.	s'il frappait son nain en sa présence.

Le chevalier ne fait rien de mal: il laisse le nain agir pour lui. Ce nain grossier et agressif provoque un combat différé entre son maître et *Erec*. *Erec* en effet ne frappe pas le nain, sachant que, s'il le faisait, il aurait à combattre avec le chevalier et il n'est pas armé. Chrétien diffère le combat pour, selon Martineau, «permettre à

Erec, en suivant le «chevalier au nain», de rencontrer Enide, mais aussi pour que les ressemblances soient moins visibles avec Guivret» (Martineau, 2003, pp. 78-79).

234	«Dame, fait il, or est plus lait. Si m'a li nains cuvers blecié Que tot m'a le vis depecié. Ne l'osai ferir ne tochie, Mais nuns nou me doit reprochier, Que trestoz desarmez estoie.	«Dame, fait-il, voilà qui est plus abject. L'infâme nain m'a blessé, au point de complètement me défigurer. Je n'ai pas osé ni le frapper ni le toucher, mais personne ne doit m'en faire reproche, car j'étais sans armes.
240	Le chevalier armé dotoie, Qui vilains est et outrageus; [Et] cil nous tenist mie a geus, Tost m'aoceïst par son orguil. Mais itant prometre vos vuil	Je redoutais le chevalier armé, individu vil et outrecuidant, et il ne l'aurait pas pris à la légère, mais il aurait eu vite fait, dans son orgueil, de me Cependant, je veux vous promettre [tuer.
245	Que, se je puis, je vengerai Ma honte ou je l'eng[r]ignerai.	Que, si je le puis, je vengerai mon humiliation, ou alors je l'accroîtrai.

Le scénario du nain provoquant un combat semble bien être une astuce de Chrétien de Troyes pour introduire un prétexte satisfaisant le goût du public médiéval pour ces scènes (Martineau, 2003). L'une des caractéristiques du nain est son humeur belliqueuse, ce qui est très pratique pour le faire intervenir au moment opportun dans la narration. Le nain devient ensuite un instrument permettant d'identifier son maître. Et son sort est aussi lié à celui de son maître. Après la victoire d'Erec sur Ydier à l'issue du combat, tous deux sont prisonniers de la reine. Il est finalement remis à *Guenievre* et on ne sait pas ce qu'il advient de lui.

Des cinq nains qui sont mentionnés dans l'édition critique d'après le manuscrit B.N. fr. 1376 d'Erec et Enide, trois sont des rois invités aux noces du héros. Belins est le roi d'Antipodès, «deux régions merveilleuses sous la surface de la terre» (Harward, 1958, p. 35) qui elles-mêmes correspondraient à un royaume souterrain habité par des nains celtes. Les nains de la tradition irlandaise qui, à travers diverses migrations dans le pays de Galle, a atteint la Bretagne, auraient donc, selon Harward, inspiré Chrétien de Troyes. Le roi nain, Belins, a en effet un frère, Brien, de haute taille. Pourtant rien ne prouve qu'ils soient celtiques. Comme nous le fait remarquer Anne Martineau, Wohlgemuth, un chercheur allemand, les a «reconnus du premier coup d'oeil» (Martineau, 2003, p. 10).

1990	Li sires des nains vint après, Belins, li rois d'Antipodès. Cil rois, donc je vos di, fu nains, Et fu Brien freres germaines; De toz nains fu Belins li meindres, Et Brien ses freres fy greindres	Le seigneur des nains venait ensuite, Belin, le roi d'Antipode; ce roi dont je vous parle était un nain et son frère se nommait Brien; de tous les nains, Belin était le plus petit, alors que Brien, son frère, était plus grand,
1995	Ou demi pié ou plainne paume Que nus chevaliers dou roiaume. Por richece et por seignorie Amena en sa compaignie Belins deus rois qui nain estoient,	d'un demi-pied ou d'une paume entière, qu'aucun chevalier du royaume. Pour montrer sa richesse et sa puissance, Belin s'était fait accompagner De deux rois qui étaient également des nains
2000	Et de lui lor terre tenoient, Grigoros et Glecidalan; Merveilles les esgarda l'an. Quant a la cort furent venu Forment i furent chier tenu.	Et qui tenaient de lui leur terre, Grigoros et Glécidalan. On les contempla avec émerveillement. Quand ils furent venus à la cour, On les tint en grande affection
2005	A la cort furent comme roi Honoré et servi tuit troi, Car mout estoient gentil home.	Et ils y furent tous les trois Honorés et servis comme des rois, Car ils étaient de très haute naissance.

Belins est donc seigneur d'Antipodès, sujet d'Arthur, et Grigoros et Glecidalan, deux autres rois nains, sont ses vassaux. S'ils viennent d'une région merveilleuse et ne sont pas humains, on constate cependant que leur système social correspond à celui des humains, bien qu'aucune mention ne soit faite d'une suite les

accompagnant. Selon Lecouteux, ces rois nains, qui ne jouent aucun rôle important, «sont des ornements, leur présence rehausse le prestige du héros – ses qualités sont reconnues de tous, même des êtres fantastiques.» (Ibid, p. 31). Ce rôle passif pourrait expliquer pourquoi, contrairement aux autres nobles convoqués par Arthur, leurs qualités physiques et leur caractère ne sont pas décrits. Mais Anne Martineau a une autre explication. Elle remarque que Chrétien «a recours à une petite astuce narratologique: il inverse la focalisation» en montrant la réaction émerveillée du public: «mervilles les esgarda l'an», tout comme le cinéma fantastique montre la terreur de celui qui voit «la créature» au lieu de l'exhiber. (Ibid, pp. 71-72). Chrétien nous cacherait ce que les spectateurs voient vraiment: «des centaines, des milliers de nains peut-être, revêtus de somptueux atours, et chevauchant, qui sait? d'étranges montures à leur taille». (Ibid, p. 72). Puisque nous ne savons pas comment était racontée l'histoire, ni comment réagissait le public médiéval, il est difficile d'attester des intentions de Chrétien. On peut voir dans *Briens*, le frère de *Belins*, un géant (ou demi pié ou plainne paume que nus chevaliers dou royaume, nous dit Chrétien), mais il peut aussi n'être que le plus grand des nains si les chevaliers qu'il dépasse en taille sont ceux du royaume de *Belins* et non ceux du royaume d'Arthur (Ibid, p. 157). Le texte ne nous éclaire pas. Le caractère surréel de ces rois nains est cependant marqué non seulement par la mention du royaume d'*Antipodès*, connu dans la tradition folklorique galloise comme une région merveilleuse, mais aussi par le commentaire assez surprenant sur la façon dont ils sont «comme roi honoré et servi». Ce «comme» indique-t-il qu'ils sont rois à part entière ou considérés comme tels? Là encore, le lecteur est laissé dans l'obscurité.

Guivret est le dernier nain apparaissant dans *Erec et Enide*, et son rôle est le plus important. Il faut pourtant lire le texte attentivement et faire des conjectures pour s'assurer qu'il est un nain car il est seulement décrit comme étant de petite taille: «de cors mout petiz» (vers 3675). On remarque une similarité de scénario entre *Guivret* et *Ydier*. Tout comme *Ydier*, *Guivret* somme *Erec* au combat, mais directement cette fois-ci, sans intermédiaire. Il est aussi vaincu après une lutte extrêmement violente et, comme *Ydier*, demande grâce. Le rôle de *Guivret* ne s'arrête pas là. Il vient au secours d'*Enide* quand il apprend la mort supposée d'*Erec* et que celle-ci est aux prises avec le comte *Oringles* qui veut la forcer à l'épouser. On pourrait supposer à première vue que *Guivret* n'est que d'une taille inférieure à celle de la plupart des chevaliers de l'époque. Cependant, certains détails dans le texte confirment sa qualité de nain. Il n'est pas courtois quand il attaque *Erec* sans le défier. Selon Anne Martineau, il réagit à ce qu'il prend pour une invasion de son territoire quand il voit *Erec* franchir le pont au-dessus du bras d'eau, ««frontière humide» de l'Autre Monde» (Martineau, 2003, p. 77). En effet, «dans la plupart des romans ou lais médiévaux qui ont pour 'sources' des contes et légendes issus des traditions celtes, l'eau sous toutes ses formes, fontaine, gué, rivière, mer, est un lieu frontière entre le monde des humains et l'autre monde de la féerie. Passer l'eau, le pont, le gué, et affronter le redoutable chevalier qui garde le passage est alors l'acte par lequel se noue le destin du héros, au plan de la prouesse comme de l'amour». (Baumgartner, 1992, p. 116). *Guivret* est silencieux, autre particularité chez la plupart des nains. Il possède un royaume fantaisiste, l'Irlande, et une force surhumaine, ce qui corrobore encore sa qualité de nain. Selon Harward, qui reprend Loomis, Chrétien aurait basé son personnage sur un roi nain de la tradition celtique en s'inspirant d'un texte original écrit en français (Harward, 1958, p. 62). Martineau nous rappelle que «les nains arthuriens sont toujours en train de courir, toujours pressés» (Martineau, 2003, p. 103). Elle explique que la nouvelle des malheurs survenus à *Erec* arrive à temps à *Guivret* car ses sujets (des nains aussi) ont agi rapidement (Ibid, p. 103). La soumission de *Guivret* à *Erec* après sa défaite au combat et l'attitude courtoise qui s'ensuit montre que sa relation devient celle de nain serviteur. *Guivret* adopte les manières courtoises d'*Erec* puisqu'il devient l'image de celui-ci. Il ne le quitte plus: il acquiesce à la demande d'*Erec* de rester avec lui à la cour du roi Arthur.

Le Chevalier au Lion ne comprend qu'un nain. Seuls quelques vers lui sont consacrés:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|---|
| 4097 | Et unz nains bochus et enflés | Un nain bossu et enflé |
| | Les eut keue a keue noués, | avait attaché leurs montures queue à queue; |
| | Si les costioit trestous quatre, | il s'avancait à côté avec les quatre chevaliers, |
| 4100 | N'onques ne les finoit de battre | et ne cessait de les battre |
| | D'escorgies a pluseurs neus, | d'un fouet à lanières munies de nœuds, |
| | Dont mout cuidoit faire que preus; | ce qui lui paraissait être digne d'un homme vaillant. |
| | Si les batoit si qu'il sanoient. | Il les frappait tellement qu'ils étaient en sang. |

Ce nain agit aussi cruellement que le géant *Arpin de la Montagne*: il est donc lui aussi le miroir du maître, tout comme l'était le nain d'*Ydier* dans *Erec et Enide*, puisqu'il reflète le méchant caractère du géant et

agit tout aussi violemment que lui. Comme le nain d'*Ydier*, il n'a pas de nom et est armé d'une *corgie*, fouet à lanières munies de nœuds avec lequel il frappe cruellement ses victimes. Alors que le géant ne l'est pas, le nain est décrit succinctement: «bochus et enflés» (vers 4097). Il a un rôle beaucoup plus limité que le nain d'*Ydier* dans *Erec et Enide*. Il conduit les prisonniers, ne parle pas et n'intervient pas dans le combat du géant contre *Yvains*. Son aspect physique correspond à son humeur acariâtre. Son rôle s'arrête à celui du bourreau au service du géant. Rappelons les racines communes nain-géant acceptées par Lecouteux pour expliquer la raison pour laquelle le géant est accompagné d'un nain: ils peuvent appartenir à la même famille et donc agir de concert. Tout comme le nain d'*Ydier*, le nain du géant *Arpin* est donné aux quatre fils et à la fille du seigneur après sa défaite. On ne sait pas ce qu'il advient de lui. Il semble que ce nain ne serve qu'à accentuer la cruauté et l'ignominie de son maître.

Le nain de la Charrette dans *Le Chevalier de la Charrette* est de loin le plus intéressant des nains des romans de Chrétien de Troyes. Il n'est pas décrit physiquement, mais Chrétien de Troyes nous dit de lui qu'il est «li nains cuiverz de pute orine» (l'infâme nain, cette sale engeance), et lui donne la tâche de conduire la charrette. Chrétien nous explique ce qu'est la charrette :

321	De ce servoit charrette lores Don li pilori servent ores, Et en chascune boene vile, Ou or en a plus de .III. mile,	Les charrettes servaient à l'époque au même usage que les piloris de nos jours. dans chaque bonne ville, où elles sont à présent plus de trois mille,
325	N'en avoit a cel tans que une, Et cele estoit a ces comune, Aussi con li pilori sont, Qui traïson ou murtre font Et as ces qui sont champ cheü	il n'y en avait qu'une en ce temps là, et elle était commune, comme le sont nos piloris, aux traîtres ou aux assassins, aux vaincus en champ clos
330	Et as larrons qui ont eü Autrui avoir par larrecin Ou tolu par force an chemin. Qui a forfet estoit repris, S'estoit sor la charrete mis	et aux voleurs qui ont pris le bien d'autrui furtivement ou qui s'en emparent de force sur les grands chemins. Tout criminel pris sur le fait était placé sur la charrette
335	Et menez par totes les rues, S'avoit totes enors perdues Ne puis n'estoit a cort oïz Ne enorez ne conjoïz. Por ce qu'a cel tens furent tex	et mené à travers toutes les rues. Il était exclu de toutes dignités, Il n'était plus écouté à la cour Ni accueilli avec honneur ou dans la joie. Parce que telles étaient à l'époque
340	Les charretes et si cruex, Fu premiers dit: Quant tu verras Charrete et tu l'ancontreras, Fei croiz sor toi et te sovaigne De deu, que max ne t'an avaigne.	Les charrettes, et si barbares, On inventa le dicton: Quand charrette verras et rencontreras, Fais sur toi le signe de croix et pense A Dieu, qu'il ne t'arrive malheur!

Le nain, en conduisant le pilori ambulant qu'est la charrette, serait l'aide du bourreau puisqu'il mène les prisonniers au supplice. Pourtant l'ajout du dicton pour terminer la description de la charrette ne s'explique, selon Claude Lecouteux, que si la charrette représente autre chose que ce qui est décrit. «Se signer, tourner ses pensées vers Dieu est une mesure apotropaïque, un exorcisme» (Lecouteux, 1988, p. 32). L'interprétation que Chrétien impose (faire le signe de croix pour écarter le malheur de mal tourner) serait fautive: la présence du nain comme conducteur place d'emblée la charrette sous le signe de l'autre monde. En effet, le nain, selon plusieurs légendes, passe pour être en relation avec le royaume des morts. Lecouteux nous fait part de l'hypothèse de Jean Frappier, selon laquelle la charrette d'infamie «aurait d'abord été sur le plan mythique la charrette de la mort», c'est-à-dire la charrette de l'*Ankou* (Ibid, p. 33). Anne Martineau explore aussi le lien établi par Frappier. La Charrette de la mort (*Karr an Ankou* en breton et «Charrette Mouliinoire» en Normandie) est «le lugubre véhicule que, dans la tradition bretonne et normande, conduit la mort en personne lorsqu'elle vient nous chercher (Martineau, 2003, p. 121). Cette charrette est un intersigne: «elle annonce la mort, non pour celui qui la voit, mais pour un proche ou un ami». (Ibid, pp. 121-122). Le nain serait-il donc le «cocher de la mort» qui «accepte de prendre un homme vivant sur son char et lui offre de le conduire à destination»? (Ibid, p. 123) L'injure qu'utilise Chrétien en décrivant le nain comme «li nains cuiverz de pute orine» (l'infâme nain,

cette sale engeance), aurait «un caractère imprécatoire, conjuratoire, qui contraste avec l'utilité, réelle, du personnage» (Ibid). Le rôle de ce nain se limite à emmener *Lancelot* à l'endroit d'où il pourra voir la reine et à tenir sa promesse. Il ne parle que pour inviter *Lancelot* et *Gauvain* à monter dans la Charrette. Il reste silencieux jusqu'à son départ, aussi mystérieux que son arrivée. Chrétien de Troyes aurait eu donc connaissance de récits de conteurs celtiques, comme semble le prouver le thème de la Charrette de l'*Ankou* (Martineau, 2003, p. 124). Toujours selon Anne Martineau, «ces contes témoignent de croyances très anciennes, mais auxquelles plus personne, au XIIe siècle (du moins dans les milieux cultivés), n'accordaient crédit» (Ibid p. 126). Il ne faut pas oublier que ces contes sont païens, et que Chrétien de Troyes évolue dans un univers chrétien. Il semble toutefois que ces croyances n'étaient pas tout à fait déracinées et il est très probable que Chrétien, en conteur expert, les utilise dans l'univers fictif de son roman pour écrire une scène aussi surprenante que capitale. L'explication du rôle du nain conducteur de la charrette n'est cependant pas simple. Le royaume de Gorre n'est pas le royaume des morts. L'humiliation de la charrette d'infamie (tout comme le combat *au pis*) n'est pas une humiliation réelle et ne cause pas une honte intérieure au héros. Il est l'amant courtois qui obéit à son cœur et non à un code. Les exploits surhumains de *Lancelot* sont seulement possibles grâce à la pensée de la dame aimée et à la perfection de son amour. La charrette, au lieu d'être un signe de déchéance, est une glorification de l'amour courtois, «compris comme une vertu, une exigence du cœur et de l'esprit, le principe d'une morale autonome (contre la loi sociale, s'il le faut).» (Frappier, 1968, p. 142). Quelle que soit l'interprétation que l'on fasse de cette charrette et son conducteur, ils n'en restent pas moins les signes marquants du roman.

Le dernier nain introduit par Chrétien de Troyes dans ses œuvres est aussi dans *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*. C'est le nain le plus malfaisant de tous puisqu'il trahit. Il attire *Lancelot*, qui, à la recherche de *Gauvain* s'approche du *Pont soz Eve* (pont sous l'eau), dans un piège. Tout comme le nain d'*Ydier* et celui de *Arpin de la Montagne*, le nain tient un fouet à la lanière à la main, mais cette fois-ci il l'utilise pour faire aller et menacer sa monture car il est monté «sor un grant chaceor», un grand cheval de chasse (vers 5060). Chrétien nous prévient de la trahison de ce nain par anticipation puisque *Lancelot* «siust le nain qui traï l'a». On apprend seulement de ce nain qu'il est «boçuz et rechigniez» (vers 5149). Comme le château de *Guivret* dans *Erec et Enide*, ce *Pont soz Eve* pourrait aussi la «frontière humide» de l'Autre Monde. Le nain semble servir *Meleaganz*, et serait l'intermédiaire entre les deux mondes.

Le nain, au moyen de représentations diverses, humilie, accuse, teste le héros, provoque des combats, espionne, mais il restaure aussi à la vie. Il vient d'un monde souterrain, il peut être riche et noble, il peut posséder des pouvoirs surnaturels. Il n'est, en tout cas, jamais passif et change souvent entièrement le cours de l'histoire. Lecouteux résume les rôles des nains. «En schématisant un peu pour éviter une fastidieuse revue d'œuvres et d'auteurs, nous pouvons dire ceci que les nains renseignent ou conseillent les héros, les aident, les accueillent ou les hébergent; ils jouent le rôle de serviteurs – hommes de compagnie, messagers, portiers, cuisiniers; ils se comportent comme des chevaliers, avec lesquels ils se confondraient parfois s'ils n'étaient si petits; ils ont une conduite discourtoise et jouent des rôles de traîtres et de félons. Il faut mettre à part ceux qui conduisent la charrette d'infamie.» (Lecouteux, 1988, p. 30). Les nains des romans de Chrétien de Troyes remplissent presque toutes les fonctions énumérées par Lecouteux et ces représentations du nain, du fait de leur diversité, sont difficiles à concilier, sauf si l'on considère que le roman, au XIIe siècle, était surtout destiné à être lu à haute voix ou à être conté devant un public sans l'aide de manuscrits, puisque ceux-ci devaient être plutôt rares. L'un des rôles joués par le nain dans les romans de Chrétien de Troyes, et non le moindre, semble être donc celui de dimension dramatique dans le récit. Pour comprendre cette fonction, il faut retracer la place que tenait la littérature à l'époque de Chrétien.

Le rôle de la littérature est en plein changement au XIIe siècle. «L'apparition de la littérature courtoise dans la France du Nord vers le milieu du XIIe siècle correspond à un tournant de la civilisation médiévale» (Frappier, 1968, p. 9). C'est une époque d'importation de produits de luxe après la première croisade (1096-1099). L'expansion des échanges commerciaux crée une relative prospérité pour les classes privilégiées. La société féodale se hiérarchise, les seigneurs les plus puissants rassemblent terres et vassaux et une vie de cour très florissante se développe notamment en Champagne, en Picardie et en Flandres. «L'idéal courtois s'est trouvé lié à une transformation dans les mœurs et la structure même de la noblesse: il a été en somme celui du «second âge féodal», alors que l'aristocratie devenait une classe héréditaire qui tendait à se clore en elle-même et à codifier ses règles de conduite». (Ibid, p. 10). L'univers fictif du roman courtois offre à la noblesse un moyen d'évasion tout en lui donnant la possibilité de reconnaître son image. C'est un «dépaysement par la littérature» (Ibid, p. 13). Chrétien de Troyes a utilisé la matière de Bretagne pour créer un monde «où se marient

la fantaisie et la raison.» (Ibid, p. 4) Ses romans d'aventures étaient donc interprétés (puisqu'il a été démontré que peu de personnes laïques savaient lire à l'époque de Chrétien de Troyes) devant un public encore marqué plus par les contes populaires que les récits littéraires.

Il est important de souligner que les œuvres de Chrétien étaient écrites en octosyllabes. Evelyn Birge Vitz (Vitz, 1999) émet l'hypothèse (car, quand il s'agit du Moyen Âge presque rien ne peut être assuré) que les contes populaires étaient eux aussi transmis sous forme poétique en octosyllabes. Elle appuie ses arguments sur des résultats d'études sur les traditions orales en existence aujourd'hui. C'est avec le *Roman de Thèbes*, en 1150, que l'octosyllabe a été inauguré en littérature, suivi dix ans plus tard du *Roman d'Enéas*. Avant cela, les chansons de gestes et les œuvres épiques étaient écrites en décasyllabes ou en alexandrins (*laisses*). Des recherches psycholinguistiques et psychométriques ont montré que l'octosyllabe rend la mémorisation de vers plus facile, puisque, «en français, la perception instinctive et sûr du nombre syllabique exact est limitée, selon les personnes, à huit syllabes, ou à moins.» (de Cornulier, 1982, p. 90). Chrétien de Troyes, en brillant conteur, semble avoir exploité les ressources de l'octosyllabe dans le but de rendre ses œuvres plus adaptées à l'interprétation orale.

Il a aussi réalisé de nombreuses innovations dans la versification française. Il a embelli sa poésie avec des allitérations, des assonances et des rythmes qui produisent des effets spéciaux à l'oral. «Ces effets seraient évidents pour une audience, surtout si le conteur a du talent et l'audience est attentive.» (Kelly, 2005, p. 53). Comme le remarque Vitz, «les historiens littéraires ont posé presque exclusivement des questions sur le contenu des contes et légendes qui ont été transmises et peu sur la forme dans laquelle les histoires circulaient» (Vitz, 1999, pp. 4-5). On attache en effet souvent trop d'importance à la dichotomie entre l'oral et l'écrit. Le caractère oral et même théâtral des romans de Chrétien se révèle surtout par la variété des voix (qu'elles soient placées dans des monologues ou des dialogues). Conjuguées au rythme et à la richesse des vers, elles émerveillent et surprennent l'audience médiévale, elles l'attristent, la font sourire, rire, pleurer, elles lui inspirent de la pitié. En bref, elles font passer le public par toute la gamme des émotions. Quoi de plus naturel que d'utiliser les nains, ces personnages d'autres mondes, pour contribuer au transport des imaginations? Le nain est ambigu. Il représente souvent l'abject, il fait peur, mais il fascine. Pourtant, bien qu'il inquiète, il est facile de s'en détourner puisqu'il n'est pas réel. Si on se sent menacé, on peut se distancer à tout moment en permettant à la raison de prendre le dessus sur les sentiments.

Le nain produit un effet, il est un stratagème pour le conteur qui veut obtenir une réaction de l'audience. Cette réaction est d'autant plus prévisible qu'il est très probable que le nain convoyait une résonance particulière dans les esprits du XII^e siècle: «nous devinons que le nain littéraire possède une autre dimension que celle à laquelle le réduisent les poètes et les écrivains, — que ce n'est pas seulement un stéréotype, une pièce de décor de l'aventure, un élément exotique, une simple merveille, un être féerique et divertissant» (Lecouteux, 1988, p. 89). Les légendes et les croyances déjà citées qui lui sont liées sont certainement connues des auditeurs de cette période. Tout comme, au XXI^e siècle, commencer un récit avec «il était une fois...» suggère un conte de fées, introduire un nain dans une histoire à l'époque de Chrétien sous entend un certain nombre de signes familiers pour l'audience médiévale. Chrétien joue avec ces éléments de référence sachant bien l'effet qu'ils vont provoquer chez son public.

Chrétien n'a cependant utilisé les nains que dans trois de ses romans. Ce ne semble pas être un fait du hasard que les deux autres œuvres de Chrétien qui nous soient parvenues, *Cligès* et *Le Conte du Graal ou le roman de Perceval*, n'utilisent pas les nains, car elles sont atypiques.

Dans le prologue de *Cligès*, Chrétien de Troyes fait référence aux œuvres d'Ovide (*Les métamorphoses* et *L'Art d'Aimer*), et à *Tristan et Iseut*, pour indiquer qu'il «I. novel conte recomence». *Cligès* nous renvoie à la Grèce depuis la Bretagne, et, en insistant sur le «nouveau», Chrétien nous montre que son roman est différent de ce qui vient de l'antiquité:

4 Ici comence li romanz de Cligès
Cil qui fist d'Erec et Enide,
Et les comandemenz d'Ovide
Et l'art d'amors en romanz mist,
Et le mors de l'espaule fist,

Ici commence le roman de *Cligès*.
Celui qui traita d'Erec et Enide,
mis les commandements d'Ovide
et l'Art d'Aimer en français,
fit la Morsure de lépaulle,

8 Dou roi Marc et d'Iseut la Blonde,
Et de la hupe et de l'aronde
Et dou rousignol la muance,
.I. novel conte recomence
D'un vallet qui en Grece fu
Dou lignage du roi Artu.

traïta du roi Marc et d'Yseut la blonde,
et de la métamorphose du rossignol,
de la huppe et de l'hirondelle,
se remet à un nouveau conte,
d'un jeune homme qui vivait en Grèce
qui était du lignage du roi Arthur.

Dès le début du conte, Chrétien insiste aussi sur le fait que les périodes grecques et romaines sont révolues, preuve qu'il s'éloigne de la matière antique:

41 Que des Grezois ne des Romains
Ne dit en mais ne plus ne mains,
D'eus est la parole remese
Et esteinte la vive brese.

[car quant aux Grecs et aux Romains,
le chapitre est clos désormais.
On a cessé de parler d'eux,
Elle est éteinte, leur vive braise.]

Cligès est aussi en partie une réécriture de l'histoire de *Tristan et Iseut*, mais dans une toute autre optique. Chrétien se distance explicitement du modèle du roman «dou roi Marc et d'Iseut la Blonde» en faisant, à trois reprises, refuser à *Fenice* de jouer le rôle d'*Iseut*:

3099 Einz vodraie estre desmembree
Que de nos .II. fust remembree
L'amor d'Iseut et de Tristen,
Dont tantes folies dist l'en
Que hontes m'est a raconter.
3104 Je ne me porroie acorder
A la vie qu'Ysez men

J'aimerais mieux qu'on me démembre
plutôt que lui et moi fassions revivre
l'amour d'Yseut et de Tristan
dont on raconte les multiples folies,
qu'il m'est honteux de redire.
Je ne pourrais pas me résoudre
A la vie que mena Yseut.

5195 Se je vos aim et vos m'amez
Ja n'en serez tristan clamez
Ne je serai ja Yseuz,
Car puis ne seroit l'amor preuz
Qu'il i avraoit blasme ne vice.

Si je vous aime, et que vous m'aimiez,
vous n'aurez jamais le nom de Tristan
et je n'aurai jamais celui d'Yseut,
car l'amour n'aurait rien de digne
quand il y aurait faute et blâme.

5244 Ja avec vos ensi n'irai,
Car lors seroit par tot le monde
Autresi com d'Yseut la Blonde
Et de Tristen de nos parlé.
5248 Quand nos en serion alé,
Et ci et la totes et tuit
Blasmerioient nostre deduit.

Jamais je n'irai ainsi avec vous,
car alors, dans le monde entier,
on parlerai de nous dans les mêmes termes
que d'Yseut la Blonde et de Tristan.
Une fois que nous serions partis,
toutes et tous, ça et là,
blâmeraient notre vie d'amour.

Chrétien a-t-il écrit *Cligès* pour montrer son habileté de conteur et rivaliser avec la matière antique et le roman de *Tristan*? Il est hors de propos ici d'expliquer quel était son but en l'écrivant. On constate seulement que ce conte se veut différent. Chrétien ne nous fait pas entrer dans l'illusion comme dans ses autres œuvres. L'histoire a un registre plus psychologique et plus courtois qu'*Erec et Enide* (la seule œuvre qui l'aie précédée). C'est aussi la seule histoire qui ne commence pas par une réunion de la cour d'Arthur. Tout se passe dans des endroits spécifiques qui, même s'ils sont fictifs, n'ont pas un caractère merveilleux ou irréel. En effet, on n'a à aucun moment la sensation d'être dans une situation où l'on se pose la question de savoir si elle est vraie ou rêvée. Un personnage aussi spectaculaire que le nain n'a aucune place dans ce type de récit. Seuls les breuvages enchanteurs préparés par la nourrice de *Fenice* sont magiques, mais c'est seulement parce qu'ils veulent être

une objection au philtre d'amour dans *Tristan*. Chrétien, en voulant que son conte soit opposé à celui de *Tristan et Iseut*, refuse-t-il de se servir d'un nain pour ne pas inviter à la ressemblance?

Le Conte du Graal ou le roman de Perceval est la dernière œuvre écrite par Chrétien de Troyes. Dans ce roman, les débats, dialogues et monologues sont plus que jamais développés. Tout est fantastique. Chrétien se surpasse. Sa narration a atteint un tel niveau de dynamisme qu'il n'a pas besoin de définir ou de démarquer un espace dramatique ou d'ajouter d'instruments comme les nains pour animer l'histoire. Dès que les héros (*Perceval* ou *Gauvains*) franchissent une rivière, ils nous emmènent dans le rêve, le surréel. Les châteaux surgissent, cinq cents femmes apparaissent aux fenêtres, une lance saigne. Les sarcasmes de *Keus* et de la *male pucele* sont extraordinaires, l'effet comique de *Gauvains* monté sur son *roncins* fait mourir de rire pendant une vingtaine de vers (de 7072 à 7091). Un conteur ne peut rêver mieux pour garder son audience suspendue à ses lèvres.

La présence des nains dans les œuvres de Chrétien de Troyes indique que les thèmes mythiques et les légendes qui survivent dans la tradition orale sont récupérés dans la littérature. Puisqu'ils ne sont pas humains, ils n'ont pas à suivre les lois, les coutumes ou la religion: ils peuvent donner libre cours à leurs instincts. Ils sont aussi un élément important de dramatisation. Pour mieux comprendre leur rôle il est important d'atténuer, sinon d'effacer, la distinction entre l'oralité et la littérature. En effet, que sont les œuvres de Chrétien de Troyes sinon des contes d'aventures écrits dans le but d'être narrés ou joués devant une audience captivée par leur magie?

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